Formulaicity in Jbala poetry

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Preface

Big things have small beginnings. I will never forget the snowy January day in Chefchaouen in 2007, when I heard for the first time a live performance of Jbala songs and held my first interview with a local singer. That day inaugurated a pleasant, although sometimes rocky, journey and this book is a letter chronicling the highlights and interesting discoveries made in the course of this journey. Unrecorded are the ups, when things seemed to be going relatively right and the downs, when I was uncertain if the journey was a fool's errand. At such times I was very close to giving up. I was lucky, however, to be surrounded by friends and colleagues who were unwaveringly by my side and had faith in me even when I did not. Without their support it would had been impossible to finish this project.

The debt to my supervisors can never be repaid. Dr. Jan Jaap de Ruiter was a rock providing support, patience and a readiness to help during all the stages of my research and writing. Prof. Sjaak Kroon was generous with his time, valuable comments and support toward my research topic. Prof. Ad Backus gave me guidance when I was working on the linguistic aspects. I am grateful to Carine Zebedee, the departmental secretary, for graciously helping with the editing.

I would like to express my very deep appreciation to Heikki Palva, professor emeritus of the University of Helsinki, for his help, during the early stages of work, with translating and transcribing the lyrics that later became the core corpus of my research.

The Jbala singers and poets deserve special thanks and recognition as a fountain of beautiful art. Their creative works bring joy not only to their people but also to those who live outside of the Jbala region. Special thanks to the enthusiasts of the local folklore Mohammed Amin Laaroussi and Abdessalam Msaada, for helping to resolve some language technicalities and

patiently answering endless questions on the native customs and traditions as well as the details of the modern everyday life of the Jbala people.

I would like to thank my family. My late father Yuriy supported my first field trip to Morocco. My mother Nina and my husband Anthony provided love, continuous support and encouragement throughout my study. Special thanks to my son Anthony Jr., although you are only two years old, you have been a loving source of inspiration.

Sarali Gintsburg
Houston, December 2013

Transcription

The transcription chosen for the collection of poetical texts dealt with in this thesis is simplified. Although it does not reflect nuances of the Jbala variety of Moroccan Arabic, it allows the reader to read the text easily even if he or she is not acquainted with Arabic. Transcription is mostly used for transcribing poetical texts and some local terminology. Personal, geographical, and tribal names start with capital letters: Abdessalaam (personal name), Bni Zerwaal (tribal name), Gwiira (geographical name). Geographical locations are transliterated in one of two ways: (1) in the French way, if they have an established history of being written in French, for instance, Chefchaouen and Tanger; or (2) in the conventional English transliteration, if they represent small towns, villages or other localities like Gharuzim and Jbel Lahbib. If necessary, transcription is given between brackets next to the name. The same system is applied to personal and tribal names: Mohamed Laaroussi, Lahcen Laaroussi. Terms of cultural and ethnographical character are given in italics: ayta, iqaa, fraja. For the reader's convenience, a solid line is used to indicate instances of formulas or formulaic elements in the text, where necessary. For instance:

wa-maa ṭarṭaaq el-baruuṭ
There are sounds of gun-powder explosions
fe j-jbel de Bni Darkuul
In the mountain of Bni Darkuul.
wa-maa ila wṣelt n timm
If you arrived there,
yebqa fummek meḥluul
Keep your mouth shut (Appendix I, ML 1: 27-30)

Consonants are transcribed as indicated in the table below.

Transcription	Phonetic description	Arabic
b	voiced bilabial stop	ب
t	voiceless plain alveolar stop with affricate-like release	ت
j	voiced palato-alveolar fricative; can have a voiced palatal fricative variant	ج
ḥ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative	ح
x	voiceless velar fricative	خ
d	voiced plain alveolar stop	د
r	alveolar tremulant continuant	ر
z	voiced alveolar fricative	ز
s	voiceless alveolar fricative	س
š	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative	ش
ṣ	voiceless alveolar fricative, emphatic	ص
ḍ	voiced alveolar fricative, emphatic	ض
ṭ	voiceless alveolar stop, emphatic	ط
ɛ	voiced pharyngeal fricative	ع
gh	voiced velar fricative	غ
f	voiceless labiodental fricative	ف
q	voiceless uvular stop	ق
k	voiceless velar stop	ك
l	alveolar lateral continuant	ل
m	bilabial nasal continuant	م
n	alveolar nasal continuant	ن
h	fricative not stop	ه
w	bilabial semivowel	و
y	palatal semivowel	ي
ʔ	voiceless glottal stop	ء
g	voiced velar stop	گ

Vowels are transcribed as indicated in the table below.

Short			Long		
Transcription	Phonetic description	Arabic	Transcription	Phonetic description	Arabic
a	short a	◌َ	aa	long a	ا
u	short u	◌ُ	uu	long u	و
i	short i	◌ِ	ii	long i	ي
e	short e	◌ِ	ee	long e	ي
o	short o	◌ُ	oo	long o	و

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This introductory chapter tells the reader how, where and when I encountered first the genres that were later used as the basis of my research and why I decided to choose formulaic language and literacy as the main topics for it. It tells, within the framework of the Oral-Formulaic Theory, that formulaicity and literacy were strongly linked to each other and that, according to this theory, literacy has a negative impact on the use of formulaic language. The chapter also discusses why the research topic represents an interest to the scholarly world today and underlines the changes that the concept of literacy has also undergone since the emergence of the Oral-Formulaic Theory in 1960. The chapter outlines the research questions that are discussed more in detail in Chapter 4 and ends with the description of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Traveling to Morocco

In the beginning of April 2004 one of the innermost dreams of my life came true: I finally got to visit Morocco. Being fascinated by the 'otherness' and uniqueness of this country as well as the seeming difficulty of the local variety of Arabic, I was always looking for chances to go there until I realized that the easiest way would be just to save up some money, buy a ticket and let my Moroccan friends know that I was going to pay a visit. I arrived and found Tangier and Tetouan exactly the way I had envisioned them and the picturesque beauty of the Rif Mountains totally won my heart. It was in 2004 when, thanks to friendship with the family of a local vet, who was assigned by the local authorities to participate in the annual campaign of livestock vaccination in the Rif mountains, that I was for the first time introduced to the Jbala people and their culture. During this stay, a good friend of mine gave me an audiocassette with songs performed by a certain Mohammed Laaroussi; the language was mostly incomprehensible without assistance of a Jbala native speaker, and so was the music – unusual, even for an Arabist like me, whose ears are used to Middle Eastern tunes. Thus, my first field

trip to Morocco turned out to be quite fruitful, and although, as a result, the initial purpose of it was somewhat different, the Jbala variety of the Arabic language and songs became one of my major academic interests for several upcoming years. With time my initial interest in purely linguistic and literary aspects of the Jbala songs transformed into something broader, and I started asking myself altogether different questions: what are the rules of composing the texts for these songs, how do they change if they do, and how else have they changed and keep on changing in the context of a globalizing world?

My next trip to Morocco took place in January 2007. It was better planned and thought through and I deliberately went there to meet certain Jbala singers and interview them about certain questions. It was in chilly January 2007 when I had the pleasure to meet enthusiasts of the Jbala tradition, who founded *jamiyat ushshaaq at-taqtuqa al-jabaliya* (*jamɛiyyat ɛuššaaq aṭ-ṭaqtuuqa al-jabaliyya*), or the Association of Amateurs of Taqtuqa Jabaliya in Chefchaouen, Mohammed al-Assri and Mohammed Laaroussi, immediate relatives of the popular Jbala singer Latifa Laaroussia, whose songs together with songs of three other singers became later on the central focus of my research. I still vividly remember the premises of the Association, snowy weather, and the long-lasting smell of kif that constantly follows everyone who visits northern Moroccan towns, especially Chefchaouen. Thanks to the Association I met with Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi, a gifted poet and a bright and in some ways revolutionary figure on the Jbala stage, went to a recording studio and saw live performances of the Jbala music. This trip resulted in writing a Lic. Phil. thesis (Gintsburg 2008) that I defended at the University of Helsinki in 2008, as a transitional stage, and then pushed me to think about going further and developing some ideas into a more profound doctoral research.

The decision to study issues linked to poetic language, formulaicity, and literacy, however, required additional information and therefore I once again went to Morocco in September 2010. If the preceding trip was more about listening and still getting acquainted with Jbala poetry and music, this one was all about interviewing and asking questions. It was the very end of Ramadan, when people spend more time at home and become more serious and focused, since they are trying to use the last days of the Holy Month to catch up with others in competing in being good pious Muslims – a great opportunity to talk about serious things, like religion and literacy. It is also the time when everyone starts to anticipate the end of the wearisome fast, return of joys of life and celebration of *Eid al-Fitr*, or Feast of Breaking the Fast – a great opportunity to talk about music. So we talked, talked a lot: I spent several evenings in Chefchaouen with Latifa Laaroussia, who came

from Spain to celebrate the end of Ramadan with her family, and a whole day in Fes with the most respected singer of the Jbala Mohammed Laaroussi. We talked about almost everything – the Jbala culture and its origin, songs, music, literacy, religion, moral values and we parted as good and understanding friends.

Upon returning home, I felt that now I could finally put in writing those thoughts and ideas that have been shoving in my head for several years. Thus, this research has made a long way: seven years and three field trips and the result is worth it.

1.2 Significance of the Study

This study aims to throw light on a subject, which has been discussed for a long time in scholarly works but, surprisingly, has never been properly studied. When Albert Lord wrote that literacy 'kills' formulaic language (Lord 1960: 129-130), it was merely a guess or, perhaps better, a theory that to date has never been proven or falsified. Lord's work has inspired a number of researchers to turn to what was later called the Oral-Formulaic Theory that was formulated in 1960 in Lord's study *The Singer of Tales*. At the early stages, works on the Oral-Formulaic Theory were merely of a descriptive character. They were set to prove that examples of formulaic language can be found not only in Homeric epics of ancient Greece and epics of the modern Balkans, but in other cultures and languages as well; such works usually focused on epics and other folklore genres. A share of studies on formulaic language dealt with medieval pieces of literature: whether English, French, Farsi, or Arabic. Such research first of all attempted to prove that these pieces were previously composed orally and then transferred to paper and thus have been deeply influenced by oral culture. For instance, Monroe (1972) found in his work on formulas in Arabic poetry, while comparing samples from pre-Islamic poetry, arguably created by illiterate poets, and writings of some presumably literate poets ranging from 8th to 20th centuries AD, that the latter have much fewer formulas. Monroe concluded that the difference in the usage of formulas has been conditioned mostly by the fact that pre-Islamic poetry was composed orally, while Islamic poetry was written, thus supporting the formulaicity-literacy claim of Lord. Still, since this conclusion rests only on mere observations, it cannot serve as proof of the idea that literacy causes the decreased use of formulaic language.

With time, scholarly interest in formulaic language gradually faded and gave way to studies on literacy and its effects on human cognitive abilities.

Thus, followers of the so-called Theory of the Great Divide, such as Lévi-Strauss (1962), Goody (1968), Ong (1982) and Olson (1988), saw it as absolutely axiomatic that, since becoming literate serves as a watershed between the states of illiteracy and literacy, it affects human thinking and language. On the other side, opponents and followers of the so-called New Literacies Studies, such as Street (1984, 2001), Gee (1992) and Barton (1994) regarded literacy and its effects as something extremely overestimated in the past. As a result, the essence of the relationship between formulaic language and literacy remained overlooked practically from the very beginning, i.e., from the time when the Oral-Formulaic Theory was first introduced.

Things have changed since the first appearance of the Oral-Formulaic Theory in 1960. The understanding of formula itself, which was very vaguely defined by Parry in 1928, has undergone certain changes and, although it has not been altered or modified ever since, researchers who study formulaic language have always had to explain what exactly they understood under the term 'formula'. Interestingly, abandoned some time ago by ethnographers and anthropologists, some findings and principles of the Oral-Formulaic Theory are today successfully used again by linguists in the study of 'genre' (Kuiper 1996) or everyday speech (Wray 2008). At the same time, substantial changes have taken place in the field of literacy studies, where thoughts have progressed not only with regards to the impact literacy has on the human mind but also about what exactly literacy is. It is clear, then, that there is still no clear answer to the following questions: How and why does a literate poet, in the modern understanding of being literate suggested by proponents of the New Literacies Studies, use formulaic language, using the modern understanding of what a formula is? Does literacy influence his or her choices? What other factors make a poet choose whether to use or not to use formulas? Does living in a traditional society and having what one might call a 'restricted' knowledge of literacy really mean having restricted vocabulary and limited choices of genres and musical and poetic devices to choose from? These are the central questions in this thesis and in the context of formulating an answer to them, definitions have to be presented on what literacy in general is, and more in particular in the view of proponents of the New Literacy Studies. Consequently, in this study a fair share of space is devoted to context and its role in formulaicity. By context I mean the three poetic Jbala genres that became the focus of this research, namely, *ayta*, *ughniya* and *ayyuu*, in the framework of which Jbala singers create and perform songs, and the requirements of these particular genres. Context implies an audience because singers produce songs first of all to sing them before, and for the benefit of, their audience. In other words, I attempt to answer the question whether how someone is singing, why and

where, can influence the use of formulaic language and, if yes, to what degree.

For those involved in formulaic studies, both in linguistics and literature, it is no secret that there is no commonly accepted understanding and definition of formula (Wray 2012). Finding answers to the questions above will contribute to the attempts to define formula and lead to a better understanding of its characteristics and use.

The songs of the Jbala were chosen as material for this research for several reasons. The Jbala poetic musical art can be regarded as traditional and it does have a considerable amount of formulaic language in its texts. The oldest texts of the Jbala available for researchers were collected by French ethnographers before and during French colonization of Morocco (1912-1956) and are at the moment of the publication of this thesis about a hundred years old. At the same time it is a live tradition, since it is still fairly popular among the local population and new songs are being created all the time. Then again, Jbala society, as well as many traditional societies throughout the Middle East, are undergoing a lot of changes today due to processes of globalization. These changes penetrating the Jbala culture, come from several directions, from Dakhl, or central Morocco, from various Arab countries, and from elsewhere in the world. This does not imply that the Jbala tradition has never been susceptible to external influences. It has always had the door open to the world to a certain extent, although, obviously in this era of digital communication, this door is more open than ever.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This study consists of seven chapters and three appendices. This Chapter 1 introduces the research topic and discusses its significance. It is preceded by a list of terminology and a note on transcription. Chapter 2 represents a review of the literature on formulaic language and literacy, as far as relevant for the current study. It mentions such points as the beginning of the Oral-Formulaic Theory, its development, as well as the application of this theory on Arabic literature. This chapter also reviews works that attempt to apply the concept of formulaic language to linguistic materials. A separate section covers works on the Theory of the Great Divide. Chapter 3 centers on the genres that construct the poetico-musical tradition of the Jbala region, namely, *ayta*, *ughniya*, and *ayyuu*. It also describes the poetical and musical structures of the three genres and informs the reader about their performance. Chapter 4 describes the methodology applied in this study. It first discusses the main principles of the Oral-Formulaic Theory, including the

definition of formula, and then goes into the classification of formulas as used in the research. This chapter also introduces issues in Literacy Studies and explains which definition and understanding of literacy is applied here. This chapter finally formulates the research questions: whether literacy has any serious impact on the usage of formulaic language and what other factors can make a singer use more or fewer formulas in his poetic texts. Chapter 5 presents the data corpus; it discusses the biographies of the four singers whose literacy skills and songs are the center of this study, followed by a presentation of their poetical texts. This chapter also contains information on other materials used: texts of songs performed by other singers and texts of songs collected in the 19th and early 20th century in the Jbala region by the French ethnographers Michaux-Bellair and Biarnay and later published in French periodicals. Chapter 6 consists of the formulaic analysis of the poetic texts in the corpus. This chapter contains the results of the analysis of the levels of formulaicity for each song and each singer, as well as the average levels of formulaicity. It also contains the analysis of the interviews held with the four singers. The aim of this analysis is to find out what other factors might condition a singer's choice in favor or against formulaic language. Chapter 7 is a discussion of the results, suggests how these results might contribute to understanding formulaic language, and reaches out to neighboring fields of research.

Appendix I contains the two corpora of this thesis: the Core Corpus with the texts of 21 songs of the four current Jbala singers that served as a basis for the research and the Secondary Corpus that consists of the texts of five songs, dating from the fifties and sixties of the 20th century as well texts of Jbala songs recorded and published by French researchers in the beginning of the 20th century. The secondary corpus serves as extra evidence for formulaicity. Chapter 4 explains the function of the secondary corpus in this thesis. The song texts are given in an Arabic transcription and are followed by an English translation, accompanied, where necessary, by footnotes. Appendix II contains information on the interviews held with the four musicians whose art was studied in the research: two interviews with Mohammed Laaroussi, two with Latifa Laaroussia, one with Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi and one with Lahcen Laaroussi. Appendix III contains three tables with the results of the analysis of formulaic expressions found in poetry by the Jbala poets.

CHAPTER 2

Research on Formulaic Language and Literacy Studies

This chapter introduces the development and history of the Oral-Formulaic Theory and discusses its main findings and principles. It then describes the attempts to apply this theory to materials, not only to the ancient Greek epics and former Yugoslav poetry as was originally done, but also to Classical Arabic and dialectal Arabic poetry. It briefly treats the history of studying formulaic language in linguistics and touches on differences and similarities between approaches to formulaicity in the fields of literature and linguistics. The chapter also tells the reader about the history of literacy studies, stressing two theories, namely, the Theory of the Great Divide and the New Literacies Studies. It then describes the situation of literacy in the Arab world in general and Morocco in particular, paying special attention to bilingualism, which is an intrinsic characteristic of native speakers of Arabic. Finally, the chapter clarifies the current state of affairs regarding the ideas of Albert Lord, the founding father of the Formulaic Studies, about the negative impact of literacy on formulaicity.

2.1 Albert Lord and the Further Evolution of Formulaic Theory

The theory of the formulaic nature of oral poetry has quite a long history, which started as early as in the 19th century. Already in 1885 Vasilii Radlov in his *Proben der Volkslitteratur der nördlichen türkischen Stämme* introduces the concept of 'Vortragstheilen', i.e., recitation-parts used by Kara-Kirghiz bards (quoted from Foley 1988: 11), which is quite close to the traditional concept of poetic formulas introduced later on by Milman Parry (1902-1935), as is shown further in this study.

However, the theory of oral formulaic composition originated on the ground of the so called Homeric Question, which, according to Foley (1988: 2), goes back to as early as the time of Flavius (34-±100 AD), who suggested an oral origin of the Homeric poems in his *Contra Apionem* in the 1st century

AD. One of the central questions that was of interest to classicists pursuing their studies on ancient Greek poetry, was whether it was Homer (800 BC - around 750 BC), who created the ancient Greek epics or whether these epics were a product of co-labor of a number of poets, and, if the latter was the case, how ancient poets could keep these enormously large pieces of poetry in memory and pass them from generation to generation. The centuries-long debates around the authorship of the Homeric epics also engendered a series of other questions, first of all, whether ancient Greek bards were literate at all. By the second half of the 18th century, it was assumed that ancient Greek bards, including Homer, were necessarily illiterate, which in fact made them memorize long pieces of poetry (Wood, 1767, quoted from Foley 1988: 3-4). It was only one and a half century later that the American philologist Milman Parry (Parry 1928, 1930) succeeded in finding convincing answers to these questions. Parry suggested that the Greek epics *Odyssey* and *Iliad* (both from about the 8th century BC) were indeed created by a number of ancient oral poets who, being illiterate, had worked out a special formulaic language, i.e., a set of expressions shared by poets who belong to the same tradition. Usage of such formulas with their fixed metrical structure and embedded themes, i.e., grouping of ideas, would help poets to learn, compose, and transmit their art.

Parry's contribution to formulaic theory cannot be underestimated: he laid down the definition of a formula: 'a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea' (Parry 1930: 80). Although initially this definition was tailored only for so called noun-epithets, i.e., epithets applied to heroes and gods in epics, it remained almost unchanged until today, where it is not only applied to various forms of poetry but also to everyday speech, as discussed below.

The theory on the formulaic nature of epics was later considerably expanded by Parry's student, Albert Lord (1912-1991), based on the material of Homeric epics, former Yugoslavian epics, and later on Anglo-Saxon epic poetry (Lord 1960, 1991, 1995). In his influential publication *The Singer of Tales* (1960), well known to all scholars interested in oral poetry, Lord raised and discussed a number of issues regarding oral poetry, such as: the nature and characteristics of themes and formulas, their varieties, the processes of acquiring formulaic language by an oral poet, the role of literacy and its influence on oral poetry, dialectal variations within the same poetic tradition, the interrelation between music, rhythm and formula, and the importance of the theme in oral performance. Being a devoted proponent and student of Parry, Lord first of all leaned on the statements and basics worked out by his teacher. Lord (1986) also conducted a longitudinal study comparing relatively modern and old versions of epics dating from the 18th to the first half of

the 20th centuries respectively, with the aim to trace changes in formulaic language occurring in the texts of these epics, which he eventually succeeded in finding.

In order to show how formulaic language lives and works, Lord reconstructed the processes of acquiring the art of the Balkan epic tradition by an oral poet, who has to pass several stages to master his skills: first the poet, then still a boy, realizes the difference between everyday speech and what can be called poetic language with its 'strange' grammar, acoustic value of words, and rhyme; then he learns to play a musical instrument to accompany his singing and at this stage the young poet also learns the importance of rhythm. Then he can start to sing and to do so he needs phrases and lines previously heard from other singers and this is when he starts to use formulaic language. Lord's reconstruction is extremely useful for those working with oral poetry.

In addition to formulas, Lord developed, following an idea initially suggested by Parry, the concept of themes, i.e., groups of ideas regularly used in telling a tale in the formulaic style of a traditional song (Lord 1960: 68); he also emphasized the difference between a formula and a theme, where formula is a verbal phrase that is used to express the idea, i.e., the theme. According to Lord, themes are ideas that vary structurally and have individual and structural characteristics; a song can contain a number of themes that follow one after another and each theme has its own, individual life, as well as a life inside a song (Lord 1960: 94). Lord also gives a thorough description and analysis of themes typical of the Yugoslav epics, such as sending a messenger, returning, writing a letter, and the description of heroes. He shows how differently singers may treat the same themes, making choices in favor of certain formulas.

Furthermore, Lord discussed the supposedly negative impact of literacy on oral poetry. While admitting that oral poetry can exist in a literate society, he categorically rejected the idea of a poet mastering both oral and written skills, i.e., a poet being able to produce poems both orally and in writing. He argued that literacy leads to the extinction of oral poetry because a literate poet, who accepts the concept of a fixed text, cannot compose his songs orally anymore and recourses to writing instead, so that such singers appear to be re-producers rather than creators (Lord 1960: 137). However, in his later period Lord was not that categorical anymore and admitted that it does not matter if a singer is literate or not as far as he lives and creates in the framework of a given oral-formulaic tradition (Lord 1991: 25).

The issue of transitional texts, i.e., texts that depend on both oral and written traditions, was also of interest for Lord's research in the framework of formulaic theory. He considerably contributed to the classification of for-

mulas working on Anglo-Saxon epic and Middle English poetry, such as *Beowulf*, which he proved to be of oral origin. He derived direct correlations between the percentages of formulaic density, i.e., the proportion of formulas to the whole text, and the involvement of a given text into a traditional (here formulaic) or non-traditional style of composition (Lord 1986: 480).

In general, despite the fact that, as is discussed below, some statements and concepts formulated by Lord, now seem to be too extreme, he is rightfully considered to be the pioneer of the formulaic theory together with Parry, and their works are cornerstones for anyone interested in formulaic language. In short what I call the Parry-Lord theory, as applied to poetic material, implies *a regular use of verbatim or near verbatim repetitions of poetic lines in a certain poetic genre or tradition* (my italics).

2.2 Further Developments

The Singer of Tales encouraged a number of scholars to conduct comparable research on the material of other poetical traditions. In total, after its publication in 1960, traces of formulaic language were discovered in oral, both epic and non-epic, literatures in about a hundred languages, among them Chinese, Indian, Russian, Ukrainian, French, Spanish and Latvian. *The Song of Roland: Formulaic Style and Poetic Craft* by Duggan (1973), aimed to ascertain an oral origin of mainly medieval poetry; others attempted to compare various poetic traditions in the framework of Indo-European civilization, as did Nagy (1974) on the material of Ancient Greek and Sanskrit poetic formulas.

Among the most interesting works, one could mention the ones of Ong (1975, 1982), who was working in the areas adjoining formulaicity, namely, orality or, as Ong termed it, 'oracy', literacy, oral and written words as a medium between a story-teller or writer and his audience. He argued that writing restructures human consciousness and completely changes man's method of storing and retrieving available necessary information. Ong's speculations on the subject encouraged to a large extent a relatively recent interest in the interaction between oral and written words and the place of formulaicity in the literate world. This interest has resulted in a number of studies in the field of linguistics, the most important of which are discussed in Sections 2.4 and 2.5 below.

Today the leading role in the field of poetic oral-formulaic tradition belongs to John Foley who founded a new field of research on oral poetry, and who wrote a number of works on formulaic language and orality in Ancient

Greek, Anglo-Saxon, former Yugoslavian, and other languages. One of his works is *The Theory of Oral Composition* (Foley 1988), which represents a concise but very informative source on the history and theoretical backgrounds of the Oral-Formulaic Theory, and *How to Read an Oral Poem* (Foley 2002), a valuable manual for students of oral literature. Foley is also one of the founders of an academic journal Oral Tradition, which is available online (*http://journal.oraltradition.org/*).

2.3 The Parry-Lord Theory and Arabic Poetry

The Parry-Lord theory was first applied to Arabic oral poetry by James Monroe (Monroe 1972). Monroe assumed that the famous *qasidas* (*qaṣiida*), or traditional poetry formed of several parts and characterized by a single meter, of pre-Islamic poets, such as Imru' al-Qais (501-544 AD), Zuhair (520-609 AD), Labid (560-661 AD), and Nabigha (535-604 AD), were composed orally and not written down, as it was traditionally thought by Arabs and Arab scholars, first of all by Arab historian Ibn Khaldoun (1332-1406 AD) and the Moorish writer Ibn Abd Rabbih (860-940 AD), and later on by European schools of Arabists and Orientalists of the 18th-19th centuries, among them Johann Jakob Reiske (1716-1774) and Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) whose works were strongly influenced by the Arabs. Based on this assumption, Monroe conducted an analysis of about 1,500 lines from pre-Islamic poetry with poetry after the coming of Islam (around 620 AD), i.e., poetic samples created by illiterate and literate poets respectively. As samples of literate poetry Monroe used poems of a number of Medieval poets, among them: Abu Nuwas (756-814 AD), al Mutanabbi (915-965 AD), and Ibn Zaidun (1003-1071 AD), as well as poems by the 20th century Egyptian poet Ahmed Shawqi (1868-1932 AD). The analysis revealed that poetry composed by illiterate pre-Islamic poets contains a fair amount of poetic formulas, which Monroe defines as 'verbatim or near verbatim repetitions' that 'can and do vary in length from two or three words to a whole hemistich or even a whole line' (Monroe 1972: 15). He further indicated that later poetry he analyzed, i.e., of the medieval and modern poets mentioned, contains a much lesser amount of formulas.

Another important point made by Monroe is that formulas in Arabic poetry can be structurally different from the ones in poetry composed in other languages due to the special features typical of the Arabic language. Thus, Monroe introduced the concept of 'structural formulas', i.e., cases where words in different instances of the same formula can be rhythmically authentic while having nothing in common semantically. This is made pos-

sible by the consonantal root system of Arabic. Nearly all words in Arabic consist of a structure of three consonants in a stable order. Whole poetic lines can be produced by the simple replacement of each one of three consonants of one Arabic root by the ones of another: for instance: *ɛafat id-diyaaru – laɛiba z-zamaanu – zaɛama l-humaamu – ṣaqaṭa n-naṣiifu* (Monroe 1972: 20). Monroe also distinguished conventionalized vocabulary, i.e., certain individual words, or etymologically related words used over and over again to convey specific traditional motifs and ideas (Monroe 1972: 23), as evidence of the oral origin of the poetry. Among such words he gives the following: *taɛabbada* - 'to exercise religion, be religious', *wuḥiya/waḥyi* - 'to be sent (about revelation)/revelation', *ʔasʔalu-haa/ʔusaaʔiluhaa/ʔusaaʔilahaa* - 'I ask her/I ask her/so that I ask her' (Monroe 1972: 23).

Monroe also emphasized the big difference between oral and written poetry in terms of using formulaic language. According to his observations on the material of pre-Islamic, i.e., presumably oral, and Medieval and modern, i.e., written, poetry, written poetry has a considerably smaller amount of formulaic expressions than oral poetry. Thus, poetry by pre-Islamic authors consisted in general of more than 80% formulaic lines (Monroe 1972: 36-37), while poetry by later, supposedly literate poets, contained less than 10% formulaic material. Practically all instances of usage of formulas were limited to what Monroe defined as structural formulas (Monroe 1972: 35-36). Monroe was one of the first scholars who successfully applied the Parry-Lord theory, which was initially designed for long epic poetry consisting of long lines and numerous themes to be remembered by singers, on Arabic *qasidas*, which are considerably shorter pieces of poetry, but which turned out to be highly formulaic as well, the pre-Islamic ones much more so than the medieval and modern ones.

Several years later the Oral-Formulaic Theory was applied to Classical Arabic poetry by Michael Zwettler as well. His monograph *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry. Its Character and Implications* (1978) contains a thorough analysis of the work of pre-islamic poet Imru' al-Qays and a few other poets from the Medieval period. Despite criticism of Monroe's method of analysis, his classification of formulas, and some of his conclusions, for instance, that formulas condition the choice of poetic meter (Zwettler 1978: 60), Zwettler arrives, as does Monroe, at the idea that 'pre-Islamic poetry was the product of a tradition of oral-formulaic composition' (Zwettler 1978: 50). He also underlined the special importance of 'structural' or, as he calls them, 'syntactic formulas' in Arabic poetry as markers of formulaicity due to the specifics of Arabic morphology (Zwettler 1978: 55). Zwettler defines 'syntactic formulas' as 'phrases whose morphemic com-

position is metrically and functionally equivalent, element for element (Zwettler 1978: 51).

Monroe's and Zwettler's attempts at the formulaic analysis of Arabic pre-Islamic and Medieval Arabic poetry later inspired another researcher, Semha Alwaya, to look for traces of formulaicity in the oral dialectal poetry of modern Bedouins in her article 'Formulas and Themes in Contemporary Bedouin Oral Poetry' (1978). In this article Alwaya analyzed five Bedouin *qasidas*, composed in Arabic Bedouin dialects, which she and other researchers collected from three separate areas traditionally inhabited by Bedouins, namely Northern Arabia, i.e., the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula, Negev, and Sinai. These *qasidas* turned out to be very reminiscent of those composed in Classical Arabic in old, i.e., pre-Islamic times, but are characterized by a simplified structure and a less complicated meter. The ones chosen by Alwaya for formulaic analysis all share similar themes, such as offering coffee as a symbol of Bedouin hospitality. All *qasidas* were recorded within a time-line of almost fifty years: thus, the earliest poetic sample was taken from Musil's *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Beduins* (Musil 1928: 467-469), the latest ones were a *qasida* from Bailey's *The Narrative Context of the Beduin Qasidah-Poem* (Bailey 1972: 70-71) and three *qasidas* collected by Alwaya herself during her field trips to Negev. The study revealed that these *qasidas* are characterized by a lot of formulaic expressions, some of them are intrinsic to a specific poet and some, which Alwaya called 'general Bedouin formulas' (Alwaya 1978: 69), are intrinsic to the Bedouin poetic tradition. Another observation made by Alwaya is that while reciting a poem the singer usually uses a certain set of formulaic expressions. Furthermore, variations within this set of formulas are very limited.

Lila Abu-Lughod, finally, applied the Parry-Lord theory to *ghinnawas*, a poetic genre of the Arabic speaking Egyptian tribe Awlad Ali, which inhabits Egypt's Western Desert. In her work *Veiled Sentiments* (1987), which deals mainly with anthropological issues, such as interpersonal relations within a tribal society and codes of Bedouin behavior, Abu-Lughod also analyzes oral poetry as an integral part of Bedouin culture in terms of its formulas and themes. The author notes that the process of composition of these two-line long poems is based on the use of poetical formulas that express given sets of themes. While very briefly discussing the poetic formulas that she found in the *ghinnawas*, Lughod emphasizes that her understanding of formula differs from the traditional one introduced by Lord, since her poetic material does not require the poet to maintain rhyme and meter and thus formulas found in *ghinnawas* are what Abu-Lughod defines as 'pictures' and 'images' (Abu-Lughod 1987: 261). She also con-

cludes that themes often overlap. Normally one poem comprises several separate elements, i.e., most *ghinnawas* describe strong feelings, such as despair, which can be applied to any close relationship from romance and maternal love to kin, while some other poems are being produced from a set of poetic expressions that widely recur throughout the poetry of Awlad Ali tribe (Abu-Lughod 1987: 268-269). Composition sometimes is nothing more than the substitution of words in 'ready text', which can completely change the meaning of the whole text. Abu-Lughod also makes an interesting observation on the difficulty of carving-out separate topics typical of *ghinnawas*. Such poetic pieces should be analyzed within their social context and use (Abu-Lughod 1987: 268); this issue is discussed in this thesis as well (Section 6.3.3) in connection with the material analyzed in the present research.

2.4 Formulaic Language, Everyday Speech and Literacy

Independently from the work by folklorists and specialists in oral poetry, the concept of formulaic language has gradually been developed in linguistics. It has been shaped through findings in psycholinguistics, second language acquisition and cognitive linguistics. These fields have started to come around to the notion that language is built not on the basis of words and rules only, but also on the basis of formulaic sequences. From the linguistic point of view, formula is a recurring multiword unit that can be both fixed and flexible, also called word string or chunk, and that is stored in the brain. Some recent experiments in psycholinguistics show that such recurring chunks are stored in memory and processed quicker and better than separate words (Arnon & Snider 2010). These findings undermine in a way the established principle of economy that is based on the idea that the human brain does not store anything that conforms to the rules.

Several works on the linguistic features of formulas in the field of phraseology were written by Kuiper, among them *Smooth Talkers* (1996), *On the Linguistic Aspects of Formulaic Speech* (2000) and *Formulaic Genres* (2009), where he studied formulas in such genres as the language of sports commentators, race callers, and tobacco auctioneers. Attempting to explore linguistic features of the formula, while drawing on both the Parry-Lord theory and on linguistic studies of formulaicity (Kuiper 2000: 279), Kuiper suggested that a formula is a phrasal lexical item that is used 'by a speaker or a community of speakers' and makes language sound native-like (Kuiper 2000: 292). Kuiper's approach to the nature of formula consists in the idea that formula is a relatively fixed structure and its possible variants are

conditioned by a limited amount of relations between words within the same phrase, always having a grammatical category, that is they are always noun phrases or verb phrases, and semantically non-compositional, i.e., they do not actually mean what they appear to say. Kuiper also states that since a formulaic speaker has a set of variants for one formula, choice of formulas is first of all stylistically important and not functionally: thus, a speaker, who has at his disposal a set of similar formulas to choose from, chooses between them for stylistic reasons (Kuiper 2000: 295). Finally, Kuiper concludes that metrical properties are not always of great importance for oral, formulaic speech, and that formulas are usually linked to a certain discourse, i.e., genre, within which they acquire their specific meaning (Kuiper 2000: 296).

Cognitive linguists (Wray 2005: 31-32) define two types of formulas: fixed multiword expressions, i.e., lexical chunks, and partially schematic constructions, i.e., patterns with some fixed elements plus open slots. By and large, this classification corresponds with how the formula is understood within the domain of oral studies. For Parry, Lord and their followers, a formula in poetry is a 'group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea' (see Section 2.1) and in addition to that, formulaic expressions are verbatim, i.e., fully fixed, or near verbatim, i.e., partially fixed, repetitions (see Sections 2.1 and 2.3). That said, researchers of oral poetry and linguists focus on different aspects of the same phenomenon: if the latter investigate, to a large degree, the technical aspect of formulaicity: why some expressions are fully fixed and some only partially and which parts of these partially fixed expressions represent slots (Corrigan, Moravcsik, Ouali & Wheatley 2009: XV), the former are interested mainly in the ways in which a poet can benefit from repetitive use of an idea, restricted by metrical requirements.

One of the key questions raised by Lord regarding formulaic language and its use in oral poetry was on the impact of literacy on formulaic language. In Lord's opinion, literacy gradually 'kills' formulaicity since poetic texts 'become' written and, hence, while creating them, poets work in a different dimension. Now, with texts put in writing, the poet can always come back to any word or phrase and change it according to aesthetic or semantic requirements. As a result, the need for formulas vanishes and with time it gives way to what Lord called 'repetitions'. It is important to clarify in this regard, that for Lord the concept of formula was a synonym of the process of oral creating, so that formula could only exist in an oral text. As soon as the singers 'accept the idea of a fixed text' they become 'reproducers rather than re-creators' (Lord 1960: 137) and, hence, the poetic formula turns into vulgar repetition. However, recently this assumption was called into question.

The question whether literacy really spells the extinction of formulaicity was touched on by the cognitive linguist Wray (2008), who considers formulaicity as an integral characteristic of human language and everyday speech. She argues that although literacy obviously does have a serious impact on the nature of poetical formulas, one cannot talk about their 'death' because human language is formulaic by nature. Wray also suggests that if formulaicity, as it was understood and formulated by Lord, has undergone a negative impact from literacy, such conclusions cannot really be applied to all instances of usage of formulaic language, and, hence, literacy does not cancel formulaicity in human language (Wray 2008: 47). Wray also raises the question in what way exactly literacy influences formulaicity. According to her, in a literate society the degree to which a speaker uses formulas is directly linked to a number of factors, the most crucial of which are: the appropriateness of a formula in expressing exactly the desired message, the estimated likelihood of the hearer understanding the formula, the desire from the part of the speaker to signal identity through language, local conditions affecting the processing demands of the speaker and hearer, and the specific desire to express the idea in a novel way.

A different kind of work that is relevant in terms of the impact of literacy on formulaicity, this time in a non-verbal domain, is Foster (2004), who attempted to trace whether there is any loss of formulaicity, resulting from an increase of literacy, in jazz music as well. It is a well-known fact that jazz music, which is characterized by its improvisational nature, was originally performed by musically illiterate musicians. However, today one can hardly think of modern jazz performers who are not acquainted with notation. On the contrary, many of them are conservatory graduates. Foster, inspired by the Oral-Formulaic Theory, conducted a small study based on interviews with several musically literate modern jazz musicians. His purpose was to ascertain if literacy might be considered a factor with negative impact on the usage of formulas, comparing the language of music to the language of poetry. His choice of this particular musical genre was motivated by the fact that the essence of jazz is based on musical improvisation, exactly like the epics of the Balkans as described by Lord, given that today most jazz musicians are musically literate.

All three musicians interviewed by Foster had attained higher musical education; in the course of the interviews, answering the question about what musical tools are used at performance of a jazz musical piece, they mentioned certain musical phrases, which are used as a sort of foundation; musical improvisation is created on the basis of this foundation. Musicians compare these musical phrases to phrases and words in human speech, although they refer to them using different terminology – 'licks' (Foster 2004:

163, 173) and 'figurations' (Foster 2004: 168). It is important that while one musician emphasizes that choosing these phrases is a deliberate process, the other two insist that it happens spontaneously rather than deliberately (Foster 2004: 163, 166, 168-169, 171-172).

It should be noted as well, that the musicians admit that they play and improvise only within the limits of the genre. For instance, one of them mentions that he and his band use canons of the genre and tastes of audience as major guidelines, since they want to keep the old public and also attract a new one. If one decides to completely go out of the genre the public anticipates to hear (in that particular case this referred to klezmer music), it will probably not like it (Foster 2004: 168). In other words, Foster emphasized the importance of interaction between a musician and the audience, where musicians have to apply the style, which their audience likes and appreciates. If that does not happen, their art dies, as was the case with former Yugoslav epic poets who at some point, due to inevitable technological and cultural changes in society brought to life by the 20th century, found themselves without interlocutors and ceased singing (Foster 2004: 174).

2.5 Literacy: History of Literacy Studies

Despite the seemingly easy task of defining literacy, and the constant use of this term by both academic researchers and various international institutions, such as the United Nations or UNESCO, there is no commonly accepted definition. International institutions tend, in my opinion, to use more general and, hence, more universal definitions that suit the nature of their work. At the same time, a lot of scholarly research has been and is being conducted on literacy, its characteristics and impact in various fields of humanities. This research often implies a narrow and 'extreme' understanding of the phenomenon, which makes it difficult to use it for purposes that fall outside the scope of the research. Below follows a discussion of the history of academic research on literacy that analyzes the main milestones. In the last section of this chapter, I make clear how I understand literacy and define it.

2.5.1 The Theory of Great Divide

Debates on the possible differences between oral and literate cultures that were circulating in the scholarly world during the first half of the 20th century gave rise to a series of studies promulgating the idea of dramatic differences between these two types of cultures. This theory, called the Theory of

the Great Divide, was first introduced by Claude Lévi-Strauss in his *La Pensée Sauvage*, later translated into English under the title *Savage Mind* (1962, 1966) and later developed by, among others, Goody (1968, 1977), Ong (1982) and Olson (1988, 1994). These studies, focusing on cognitive processes, claim that the mode of thinking of a literate person significantly differs from the mode of thinking of an illiterate one. Some found that literacy has a dramatically important effect on human cognition (Lévi-Strauss 1962; Ong 1982; Olson 1988), and went as far as to state that 'speech makes us human and literacy makes us civilized' (Olson 1988: 175).

With time, some proponents of the Great Divide, for instance Goody, shifted to a more moderate approach, stating that although 'we must reject any dichotomy based upon the assumption of radical differences between the mental attributes of literate and non-literate peoples, there may still exist major differences between literate and non-literate societies' (Goody 1968: 44). Olson (1994) in *The World on Paper* also redefined his initial understanding of literacy and, hence, the whole argument by stating that literacy should be understood first of all as reading and writing practices. He wrote that literacy is 'both a cognitive and a social condition, the ability to participate actively in a community of readers who have agreed on some principles of reading […] a set of texts to be treated as significant, and a working agreement on the appropriate or valid interpretation(s) of those texts' (Olson 1994: 274-275). Nevertheless, he kept defending the idea of the Great Divide and the absolutely essential role of literacy in changing our cognitive processes by saying that 'our modern conception of the world and our modern conception of ourselves are, we may say, by-products of the invention of a world on paper' (Olson 1994: 272).

2.5.2 New Literacies Studies and Grassroots Literacies

This idea once dominant in scholars' minds, that literacy has serious effects on cognitive and social practices, has been criticized by Street (1984). Street introduced New Literacies Studies, a new understanding of literacy practices that emphasizes the necessity of distinguishing between two different approaches: an autonomous one and an ideological one. The first one reflects the traditional Western vision of literacy as the knowledge of how to decode letters, while the second one, which is more culturally sensitive, sees literacy not as a purely technical skill but as a social practice. Street declares the autonomous approach to literacy a failure since it does not offer a full understanding of what literacy is, how it is used, and what its impact can be, and hence it should be given up (Street 2001: 7-8). He also shows, based on a number of examples, how the ideological approach can broaden the concept of literacy. Instances of literacy practices that are being studied in their social

contexts, help to remove the label 'illiterate', previously assigned by followers of the autonomous approach (Street 2001: 9). The concept of New Literacies Studies has been welcomed by a number of researchers, and has resulted in quite a number of studies, supporting the idea of a cross-cultural approach to literacy, among the most acknowledged ones were studies by Scribner and Cole (1988), Nicolopulu (1992), Gee (1992) and Barton (1994).

Scribner & Cole (1988) and Cole & Nicolopoulou (1992) offered what they call a 'contextual view'; they argue that literacy should always be studied within its context, i.e., through social reading and writing practices of certain groups, for when they are decontextualized they loose their meaning. Their study, although mainly of a psychological nature, is dedicated to literacy practices among the Vai people in Liberia, and the potential impact of literacy on cognitive skills. They define literacy as 'a set of socially organized practices which make use of a symbol system and a technology for producing and disseminating it' (Scribner & Cole 1988: 236) and on the basis of a thorough analysis of three literacies found in that area, namely English schooling, traditional Qur'anic, and traditional Vai script, arrive at the conclusion that schooling does not have any important impact on cognitive skills (Scribner & Cole 1988: 255).

The cross-cultural approach to literacy introduced by Street pretty much goes hand in hand with observations by Blommaert (2008) on literacy practices in Congo. In this study, Blommaert examines what he calls the 'non-elite literacy' of the writings by two original Congolese authors: one represents an autobiography and the other one a history of Congo. Similarly, Blommaert emphasizes the necessity to study literacy in its social context or, as he puts it, 'locally' (Blommaert 2008: 193); he also clarifies that literacy becomes non-elite only when it is taken out of its context and studied outside its environment (Blommaert 2008: 186, 192). While criticizing the Theory of the Great Divide and its dominant idea of the supremacy of written culture over 'primitive' oral societies, Blommaert even goes as far as saying that 'societies are literate as soon as people write. It does not matter, whether many or few people write' (Blommaert 2008: 190). In attempt to define what is grassroots literacy, Blommaert, although with the proviso that the following is valid for his material, i.e., samples of literary writings from the Congo, offers the following five characteristics: (1) 'hetero-graphy', or non-conformity with orthographic norms; (2) 'vernacular language varieties being used in writing', or writing in the local, non-Standard variety of the language; (3) 'distant genres', or only partial exposure to the genre one work in; (4) 'partial insertion in the knowledge economies', or no full access to the source of information, and (5) 'constrained mobility', or texts are fully understood and appreciated only locally (Blommaert 2008: 7).

In the framework of a cross-cultural approach, as applied to literacy practices in non-Western societies, Blommaert also goes into the characterization of the genre. While expanding the generally accepted understanding of literacy, he inevitably refers to the concept of the genre, that can be applied to both literary and conversational context. He concludes that each genre has three important features: (1) formal characteristics of communicative events; (2) expectations they generate, and (3) the responsive behavior they suggest (Blommaert 2008: 44).

2.5.3 Literacy in the Arab World

The literacy situation in the Arab World stands out in literacy studies, due to Arabic bilingualism. It is well-known to Arabists and linguists that the Arabic language can be roughly divided into two varieties – a Standard one, the language of fiction, news-papers, and, to some extent, television, and a Colloquial one, consisting of various dialects (Versteegh 1997: 189). Colloquial Arabic is acquired in natural settings, i.e., at home and in the street, while Standard is (and has to be) learnt at school. It is also a well-known fact among Arabists that writing and, especially, speaking in Standard Arabic is quite challenging even for Arabic native-speakers with university degrees. At the same time, Standard Arabic has long-established fixed grammar rules, lexicon, morphology, and phonetics, while Colloquial Arabic does not. Colloquial Arabic is characterized by a high degree of variety in all linguistic domains mentioned. Standard and Colloquial Arabic are, on the other hand, not that separated from each other. They 'live' side by side in each Arabic speaker's individual life and in Arab societies as a whole. In fact, they are in close and daily contact with each other, reason for some linguists to state that Arabic is not characterized by two varieties, Standard and Colloquial, but by a scale running from 'purely' Standard Arabic to 'purely' Colloquial. For instance, Badawi distinguishes five levels of Arabic: Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, High Standard Colloquial, Low Standard Colloquial and Low Colloquial (Badawi 1973: 89-91). In practice, though, linguists and Arabs themselves maintain this dichotomy of standard and colloquial. The present thesis does so as well, the more as the diglossic status of Arabic is not at stake in this research. The songs it is based on are all composed in dialectal Arabic, or in darija. This thesis uses the term 'darija' interchangeably with 'Moroccan Arabic' and 'dialectal Arabic' to refer to the Moroccan varieties of dialectal Arabic (see Sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2).

Due to the permanent language contact situation of Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic, these too varieties gave birth to a mixture, called median Arabic (Benítez-Fernández, De Ruiter & Tamer 2010; Youssi 1992), which is characterized by the formality and basic structures of Standard Arabic and

the liveliness of the dialect. At the same time, there have been calls to stop using Standard Arabic as the official language of Morocco and substitute it for Moroccan Arabic (Laroui 2010). Undoubtedly controversial and, to some degree, politicized, these calls reflect the opinion of a number of educated Moroccans, as well as point to the fact that differences between Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic can indeed be striking.

An important aspect of literacy in Arabic-speaking countries is the tradition of Qur'anic schools. This tradition, which was widespread throughout the Islamic World, and which started to be slowly replaced by secular schools only recently, represents another type of literacy. These schools are known under several names: *kuttab* (*kuttaab*) and *msid* (*msiid*) in Morocco, *maktab* in Iran and India, *medrese* in Turkic-speaking countries; for centuries they have been providing their students, in most cases young children, with a variety of literacy that Western scholars easily see as inadequate or poor. There are a lot of works published on education in Qur'anic schools throughout the Islamic World. Wagner (1995) for instance, gives a perfect and detailed description of a Moroccan *kuttab*, its past and its present. In his study, Wagner casts away the popular opinion that *kuttabs* can only be regarded as negative and oppressive for the child's intellectual experience and that they are of no practical use. He found that there were no negative consequences related to other school performance activities. On the contrary, children who had attended the *kuttab* before they started formal education, proved better than other children in tests of serial memory. Wagner's study also shows that children whose native language is Amazigh (or Berber), and who attended Qur'anic school, had better reading skills in Standard Arabic than their counterparts with no such background (Wagner 1995: 278-279).

A culmination of the above factors makes the situation surrounding Arabic look very complicated indeed. On the one hand, Standard Arabic is commonly considered to be quite difficult to master even for those who have unrestricted access to formal education, while on the other hand, Colloquial Arabic has no officially accepted established rules and is often seen as a 'low' variety of Arabic, reflecting a traditional negative approach towards the spoken language (Versteegh 1997: 190).

The situation is particularly bleak in the Maghreb countries, where a colonial and post-colonial system of formal education was built on French rather than on Arabic. Although the Moroccan government has been implementing the policy of arabicization for already several decades, i.e., since the Kingdom regained its independence in 1956, it does not seem to be of a great success nor did it dramatically change the attitudes of Moroccans towards French (positive) and Arabic, be it Standard (very positive) or Colloqiual (neutral), although during the last decade the level of proficiency in

Standard Arabic, which is traditionally fairly weak, has become better than the one in French, apparently as a result of the arabicization campaigns of the Moroccan authorities through the years (De Ruiter 2006: 62). Several other studies showed nevertheless that proficiency in Standard Arabic of Moroccan schoolchildren still is below the standards, set by the Ministry of National Education because children and their parents, despite having a positive attitude toward Standard Arabic, see French as more important for their future (Tamer 2003, 2006; De Ruiter 2006). On these grounds one cannot expect from the average Moroccan native-speaker, even with a secondary school diploma under his belt, relevant fluency in writing, let alone speaking in Standard Arabic. If he has to write something formal, he would rather prefer French, if the writing has an informal character and he might be tempted to use Moroccan Arabic and one might even expect to see something in Moroccan Arabic, written with letters from the Latin alphabet. This is especially true in the case of computer and cell phone messaging. Caubet links using Latin letters with the simple fact that starting from the nineties of the last centuries, i.e., with the computerization of Morocco, most of the keyboards were imported and did not have Arabic letters on them. She notices, however, that starting from the end of the first decade of the new century, when Arabic keyboards became widely available in the country, the usage of the Arabic alphabet went up (Caubet 2013: 81-82). At the same time, there have even been calls from educated Moroccans to start using Moroccan Arabic as the state language and substitute Arabic letters for the Latin ones (Laroui 2010: 139-145). But then again, even Moroccan Arabic is a cover term: it refers to the different Arabic dialects of Morocco and it has not been standardized as yet. A kind of *koineisation* of Moroccan Arabic is at present taking place but that does not mean that it has, like Standard Arabic does, an acknowledged national status (Benítez-Fernández, Miller, De Ruiter & Tamer 2013: 20-21, 30-33). At the same time, there are currently a number of magazines published in this not standardized but apparently understood by most Moroccans Moroccan Arabic (Benítez-Fernández, De Ruiter & Tamer 2010: 23).

The special status of Moroccan Arabic, to a large degree eventually resulting from its remoteness from Standard Arabic, has been acknowledged by Moroccan authorities. In 1999 the government published the *National Chart on Education and Reform*, that called for promoting, among other things, local Arabic dialects in the national educational system (Benítez-Fernández, De Ruiter & Tamer 2010: 14). Until now, however, this did not result in the full-fledged integration of Moroccan Arabic in Moroccan schools, contrarily to Amazigh which has officially been adopted in the school system (El Aissati, Karsmakers & Kurvers 2011).

To understand better the language situation in Morocco in general, it is also important to focus on a different, and fairly numerous class of Moroccans who have had very limited access to education, especially in rural areas. Many in this group never went to school, or only to a traditional rural school, or, for the older generation, to *kuttab*. Hence, they have not been exposed to the Western (if any) model of education. Such people, even though they may speak several languages fluently, usually have only the Arabic alphabet at their disposal, and when they have to write something down, they will use Arabic letters. Such situations are best described using Blommaert's (2008) observations about writing norms as applied to non-elite literacy. In the case of the Jbala poets, as will become clear in Chapter 5, they do not even have to possess what Blommaert calls 'good' writing skills (Blommaert 2008: 335) in order to successfully perform their professional duties, if writing down poetic texts can be defined as such, since they compose their songs in Moroccan Arabic; writing in which, as discussed above, does not have any established rules or norms to follow.

The difficulty of using Standard Arabic as written language in Moroccan society has been explicitly described by Laroui (2010) in his *Le drame linguistique marocain*. He sees the usage of Standard Arabic as a serious disadvantage for someone who wants to be heard, to be read and to be understood. Indeed, as Laroui notices, throughout the last century writers throughout the Arab world started to use dialectal Arabic in their texts, at least in dialogues. This trick enabled writers to achieve the effect of vividness. In the Maghreb countries, where French colonization had a remarkably strong effect on the educational and cultural life, local writers often preferred, and still do, to write in French. Laroui explains why a fair number of Moroccan, and wider, Maghreb writers made their choice in favor of French by the fact that Standard Arabic is no Arab's native language and because, since there are no native-speakers of this language, it lacks the liveliness of the French.

For this study, however, the most important insight about the type of education that has been received by some of the Jbala poets is provided by Street (1984) in his previously mentioned *Literacy in Theory and Practice*. Street notes, in analyzing the literacy of Iranian villagers who studied at Qur'anic schools: 'In the village, the leading *tajers* or middlemen, who organized the fruit trade, learned as children a particular form of literacy, which they have adapted to the requirements of their new commercial position […] the construction of this particular literate form was neither an individual matter nor it was a product of specific formal training' (Street 1984: 12) and 'the mullah's school does not close people off from alternatives, as the concept of "restricted literacy" that Goody applies to the Islamic tradition would lead us to expect' (Street 1984: 142). In other words, Street

sees education received in a Qur'anic school as a form of literacy that perfectly allows its receivers to fully participate in their everyday and professional life and so do I in this study.

2.6 The Definition of Literacy as applied in this Study

There still is no generally established and accepted understanding of the relationship between literacy and formulaicity. To a large degree, this is due to the fact that there are no generally established and accepted understandings of what literacy and formulaicity as such are. In this regard, I fully agree with Olson (1994), and feel it can be applied to literacy studies in general and to the relationship between literacy and formulaic language in particular: 'What is required is a theory or set of theories of just how literacy relates to language, mind and culture. No such theory currently exists perhaps because the concepts of both literacy and thinking are too general and too vague to bear such theoretical burdens' (Olson 1994: 13).

Indeed, although previous debates on the role of literacy have gradually come to nothing, it does not mean that either, i.e., the Theory of the Great Divide or the New Literacies Studies, has been debunked and forgotten. In fact, both of the theories still co-exist in the scholarly world. Moreover, some of the foundational principles of the Theory of the Great Divide are actively promulgated, especially by those whose research focuses on non-Western cultures (cf. Blommaert 2008: 189). At the same time research on formulaic language recently became of great interest for linguists, who, by studying formulaic sequences in everyday speech, contribute to better understanding of what language is built on, as well as of the mechanisms of human memory. This fact has also contributed to the present state of affairs.

In this study, I therefore also want to investigate if, and to what extent, it is the context that mainly dictates to the Jbala poet and singer how, when and why to use formulaic expressions in his art. Still I also want to attempt to formulate an answer to the 'old' question whether (il)literacy has any influence on how Jbala poets use formulaic language, where literacy should be understood not only as the type resulting from formal school education of the Western kind, but in a broader sense. I adopt the definition of literacy as suggested by UNESCO, since, as I already mentioned earlier in this chapter, definitions of literacy used by international institutions tend to be more universal and easier to apply, than other, more specific definitions, discussed in Section 2.5. Consequently, literacy means 'the ability to fluently interpret printed and written materials associated with varying contexts and to participate fully in their community and wider society' (UNESCO 2004:

13). According to this quite general definition, if a Jbala poet, who creates his verses in Moroccan Arabic, is able to write down his text and later on reproduce it, as well as read printed text or text written by somebody else, all in order to successfully perform his job, he can be considered literate, even though he has no reading/writing skills in Standard Arabic, and has not had any formal education. In general terms, this definition does not conflict with the concept of literacy as offered by Blommaert, who emphasizes that it is important to understand that each instance of using literacy skills should be analyzed in its local environment, introducing the concept of the 'ethnography of text' (Blommaert 2008: 12), or with Street, who explains that literacy has many varieties and that 'the ways in which people (i.e., social or ethnic groups) address reading and writing are themselves rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity, being' (Street 2001: 7). At the same time, the definition is rather conservative, since it does not imply Blommaert's claim that 'societies are literate as soon as people write. It does not matter, whether many or few people write' (Blommaert 2008: 190).

CHAPTER 3

Jbala Folkore: Language, Poetry, Music, Performance

In order to contextualize Jbala folklore, this chapter introduces the reader to the complicated language situation in Morocco. It focuses on dialectal Arabic, as the language which is native to the Jbala singers central to this study, and in which they compose their texts. The chapter briefly describes music genres of traditional and modern Morocco and then treats each of the three song genres that are the focus of this research: ayta, ayyuu, and ughniya. It details their history, the musical instruments used, as well as information on live performance of these genres and their recording in professional studios. The chapter also describes the musical structure of each of the genres and links them to the Andalusian musical heritage and the Rifian Amazigh tradition. Finally, attention is paid to both the poetic structure and the themes typical of each of the genres, which are briefly compared to more well-known genres in the Classical Arabic poetic tradition and traditional dialectal Moroccan poetry. The chapter ends with an analysis of the role of traditionality and artistic creativity in the three genres under concern.

3.1 Morocco, Sketch of a Multilingual Society

3.1.1 Multiple Languages

The linguistic situation in Morocco represents a perfect example of multilingualism: in their everyday life, the population of this country actively uses different varieties of dialectal Moroccan Arabic, or *darija*, Amazigh (Berber), Standard Arabic, French and, to some extent, English. This section treats the languages under concern briefly while the following Section 3.1.2 goes into dialectal, i.e. Moroccan, Arabic, of which jebli Arabic is the variety used by the singers under concern in this thesis. Until recently, the preamble to the 1996 Constitution stated that *Le Royaume du Maroc, Etat musulman souverain, dont la langue officielle est l'arabe, constitue une partie du Grand Maghreb Arabe* - 'The Kingdom of Morocco, a sovereign Muslim state, of

which the official language is Arabic, forms part of the Greater Arab Maghreb' (English translation cited from Bassiouney 2009: 226). It mostly reflects the Kingdom's policy set towards the arabicization of the country, rather than the actual state of affairs. The fact, that over one third of Moroccans consider as their native language one of the Amazigh varieties, i.e., Tarifit, Tachelhit or Tamazight, and not Arabic (Baker & Jones 1998:363) was reflected in the Constitution only in 2011 (El Aissati 2012: 106). The new text acknowledges Amazigh as the state language, while Arabic remains the official one: *l'arabe demeure la langue officielle de l'Etat. L'Etat œuvre à la protection et au développement de la langue arabe, ainsi qu'à la promotion de son utilisation. De même, l'amazighe constitue une langue officielle de l'Etat, en tant que patrimoine commun à tous les Marocains sans exception* - 'Arabic remains to be the official language of the State. Alike, Amazigh also constitutes the official language of the State because it is a common property of all Moroccans without exception' (English translation is mine, SG).[1]

The French language, introduced during the times of the French (central Morocco) Protectorate (1912-1956), keeps strongly influencing the everyday life of Moroccans, as a language of 'high register', administration, education and, to some degree, culture. Even though the first steps towards arabicizing education were taken right after Morocco regained its independence in 1956, Arabic is the primary language of instruction for primary and secondary education. Furthermore, arabicization has been particularly effective in public schools whereas French still is an important if not dominant language in the private educational sector, frequented by elite pupils. In this way French continues to be the language par excellence of the political and economic elite while children from poorer backgrounds learn Standard Arabic, which is of hardly any use to them if they want to make any social promotion. Furthermore, several attempts to arabicize higher education turned out to be ineffectual as well and, as of today, most subjects, especially in medical, engineering and science departments, remain taught in French (Bassiouney 2009: 224). The northern part of the country still is under the influence of the Spanish language and culture, due to the past, when Northern Morocco used to be a Spanish Protectorate (1912-1956), and the present, because of strong economic ties between the two countries and their being geographical neighbors.

The Amazigh population of Morocco is mostly bilingual, though some speakers, especially women, small children and inhabitants of remote villages remain monolingual (Benítez-Fernández, De Ruiter & Tamer 2010). Even before Amazigh was acknowledged as the second state language in

[1] *http://www.sgg.gov.ma/bo5952F.pdf?cle=42*

Morocco by the new Constitution, Amazigh was introduced into schooling system starting from 2003 (El Aissati 2012: 107) in Amazigh-speaking areas of the country, where a part of the subjects is taught in Amazigh. Similarly, in 1994 Moroccan television started to broadcast news in the three Amazigh varieties spoken in the country (Bassiouney 2009: 226). This became possible after a speech, given on August 20th 1994 by the late king Hassan II, who, for the first time in Moroccan history, expressed the idea of teaching and learning Amazigh in the framework of the Moroccan educational system (El Aissati 2005: 67).

Recently, English has begun to actively spread in the country as well: American schools have opened for the children of local elites and the American-accredited Al-Akhawain University, opened in Ifrane in 1995, considerably contribute to its expansion (Bassiouney 2009: 224).

3.1.2 Moroccan Arabic

The colloquial varieties of Arabic spoken in Morocco belong to the group of Maghrebi or Western dialects that comprises dialects diffused in Western Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania. Moroccan Arabic dialects are native to about 65% of the population (Baker & Jones 1998: 363). They can be roughly sub-divided into several variants or sub-dialects: *shamali* (*šamaali*), meaning 'northern' and spoken in the north, *fassi* (*faasi*), spoken in the cities Fes and Sefrou and their surroundings, *kazawi* (*kazaawi*), spoken in Casablanca and Rabat area, *agadiri* (*agaadiiri*), spoken in the cities and areas surrounding Agadir, Essaouira and Marrakesh, and *hassani* (*ḥasani*), spoken in the Sahara region (Ennaji 2007: 269). The dialectal variety of the Jbala songs has the same name: the *jebli* (literally meaning: 'mountainous', referring to the mountainous areas where the dialect is spoken) variety of Colloqiual Arabic. Jbala falls under the sub-dialect grouping of *shamali* Arabic. Together with *shamali*, the *jebli* dialect belongs to the so-called Pre-Hilali or Non-Hilali group of Maghrebi Arabic. This term was introduced by Marçais (1938) and Colin (1945), who argued that the first arabicization of Northern Africa took place long before the migration of the famous Yemeni Bani Hilal tribe in 12th-13th centuries. The pre-Hilali group consists of the *jebli* dialect together with the dialects spoken in other North African cities, such as Constantine, Blida, Algiers and Tlemcen in Algeria, Tunis in Tunisia and Rabat, Tangier, and Fes in Morocco. As the most archaic group of Arabic dialects in the region, the Pre-Hilali dialects are characterized by a strong influence from Amazigh (in this case Tarifit, or Rifian Amazigh, spoken in the Northern part of the country bordering the Mediterranean) on all levels – phonetic, morphological, and lexical. Colin (1945: 226-227) subdivided the dialects of the Jbala into two groups: those

spoken in the mountainous zone, i.e., the area between the Strait of Gibraltar and the Western part of Ouazzane, and those spoken in the meridianal zone, i.e., in the area between Ouazzane and Taza. The latter group was partially studied by Colin (1945), i.e., the dialects spoken by the tribes of Branes and Tsul, and by Lévi-Provençal (1918), i.e., the dialects spoken by the tribes of Bni Slas, Fishtala, Wuryaghel, el-Jaaya and Bni Zerwal. It was only as late as the beginning of the 21st century that two dialects from the first group, i.e., the one spoken in the mountainous area of the region, were studied by Vicente (2000), i.e., the dialect of Anjra, and by Moscoso (2003), i.e., the dialect of Chefchaouen. Other Pre-Hilali or *shamali* dialects of the Moroccan North that share numerous features typical of the Jbala dialect are the ones spoken in Larache, Tangier, Ceuta and Tetouan.

The present study was conducted on the basis of a corpus composed of three collections of songs of the Jbala area and in the *jebli* variety of Arabic divided over two corpora. The first collection stems from the late 19th century - beginning of the 20th century as collected by French scientists; the second collection consists of audio recordings, stemming from the fifties and sixties of the last century. The last collection consists of songs performed by several modern singers from this area, who came from a number of local tribes, such as the Bni Zerwal, Lakhmas, and Jbel Lahbib. This last collection forms the core or First Corpus of this study and the first two collections form the Secondary Corpus (see Chapter 5 as well).

3.2 Genres

3.2.1 Music Genres in Morocco

The Kingdom of Morocco rightfully enjoys a reputation as a country of rich and diverse cultures, where an ancient heritage of various backgrounds co-exists with the most modern global trends. For centuries, Morocco has been absorbing rich musical traditions of Amazighs, Arabs and Sub-Saharans. Starting from the 20th century, Western music genres also found their way to the local musical stage. Below is a brief outline of the genres that represent the music of contemporary Morocco.

The traditional popular music genre in Morocco is called *shaabi* (*šaɛbi*); *shaabi* songs are always performed in Moroccan Arabic. This genre has a lot of variants, it is known in both rural and urban areas almost everywhere in Morocco. *Shaabi* is often associated with weddings and other important events of this sort. These songs can be performed by orchestras, individuals, as well as *shikhat* (*šiixaat*) – women, who are traditionally hired to entertain guests at weddings. There are many artists engaged in performing *shaabi*

but, perhaps, the most famous contemporary representatives of the *shaabi* genre are Abdelaziz Stati (born 1961), Abdellah el-Makhlouk (born 1972) and Hajja Hamdaouia (born 1930).

The genre of *ayta* (*ɛayṭa*), one of the genres of concern to this thesis, is sometimes seen as a variety of *shaabi*. However, some ethnomusicologists see it as a separate genre (Aydoun 1995: 108, 111). *Ayta* has a number of regional varieties, which are very well known and performed all over the country. Among these varieties one could mention (1) *l-ayta l-jabaliya* (*l-ɛayṭa l-jabaliya*) *or ayta* from the mountains (this variety originates from the Jbala region), (2) *l-ayta l-marsawiya* (*l-ɛayṭa l-marsawiya*) or *ayta* of the market or the port (*al-ayta l-marsawiya* originates from Chaouia-Ouardigha region), (3) *l-ayta l-hasbawiya* (*l-ɛayṭa l-ḥasbawiya*) or *ayta* from el-Hasba, a town in the province Doukkala-Abda, (4) *l-ayta l-zairiya* (*l-ɛayṭa z-zaɛiriya*) or *ayta* from Zair area, inhabited by the tribe of Zaer, living in Rabat-Salé-Zemmour-Zaër region, (5) *l-ayta l-hawziya* (*l-ɛayṭa l-ḥawziya*) or *ayta* from al-Haouz, a province in central Morocco, a part of Marrakech-Tensift-El Haouz region, and (6) *l-ayta l-khuribgiya* (*l-ɛayṭa l-xuribgiya*) or *ayta* from Khouribga area, a city in the Chaouia-Ouardigha region.

Among other genres popular in Morocco one can mention *malhun* (*malḥuun*), poetry composed in Moroccan Arabic. Although this term is usually applied to the poetic genre famous throughout the Maghreb countries, an important part of any *malhun* poem is musical accompaniment, which makes it also a musical genre. *Malhun* is usually composed of three parts: (1) *sarraba* (*sarraaba*) – or prelude, (2) *qaṣida* – the central poem, and (3) *dardika* (*dardiika*) – or final part (Pellat 1991: 255-256). There are a number of prominent contemporary musicians famous for their mastery of singing *malhun*, among them Mohammed Bouzoubaa (born 1939) and Mohammed Essoussi (born 1958). Abdelkarim Guennoun (1924-1995) was a famous singer of *malhoun* as well.

Shaabi and *malhun* are often considered to be somewhat 'low' genres and are sometimes opposed to *tarab* (*aṭ-ṭarab*), the medieval Andalusian musical heritage, that dates back to the times of Moorish Spain (711–1492 AD), which is seen as a 'classy' and 'high-end' variety of the traditional music of Morocco. The Andalusian music is also known under the names of *musiqa al-ala* (*muusiiqaa al-aala* - 'higher music'), *gharnaati* (*gharnaaṭi* - 'music from Granada') and *maluf* (*maluuf* - 'familar', 'customary'); it consists of *nawbas* (*nawba*), or musical suites, where instrumental parts alternate with the vocal singing. The Andalusian music is often seen as the foundation and the source of most local musical genres. This genre remains popular among music amateurs not only in Morocco but also abroad.

Sufi music, or music performed by members of various Sufi orders also constitutes an important part of the country's musical profile. This music is sometimes referred to as trance music. One of if its most famous varieties is called *aissawa* (*ɛaisaawa*), or music of the *Aissawa* order. Other varieties are *hamadsha* (*ḥamaadša*), *darqawa* (*darqaawa*) and *tijaani* (*tijaani*). Some researchers see *gnaoua* (*gnaawa*) music, or music that came to Morocco with Sub-Saharan slaves that were once brought to this country, also as part of the trance music (Kapchan 2007: 5).

There is no clear understanding among musicologists how to classify the musical culture of the Amazigh speaking population, which represents an important part of the Moroccan musical tradition as well. Amazigh music includes songs and dances, both traditional and modern, of the Rif, Middle Atlas and High Atlas and Sousse areas. The Rif area is generally represented by two major varieties, which comprise sub-genres: (1) *aarfa*/*arifa* (*ɛarfa*/*ɛariifa*) or *reggada* (*reggaada*), a traditional militarized dance accompanied by vocal singing and sound of musical instruments and *izran* (*izraan*) – songs that cover a number of themes, the most important among them love and various satirical pieces (Biarnay 1915: 26-33). The signature genre of the Amazigh population of the Middle Atlas is a *hidous* (*aḥiduus*) – collective songs performed by men and women accompanied by dancing. The High Atlas and Sousse areas are mainly represented by (1) *ahwash* (*aḥwaaš*) – collective dance, accompanied by music and vocal singing (Schuyler 1979: 65) and (2) *rwais* (*rwaais*) – songs performed strictly by professional musicians (Schuyler 1979: 66). The above two genres have a number of regional variations. Sometimes all Amazigh genres are seen as a part of Moroccan *shaabi*, sometimes – as an independent entity that lacks, however, any thorough classification.

Moroccans usually distinguish two traditions as separate genres: (1) *daqqa marrakshiya* (*daqqa marraakšiiya*) – songs with accentuated rhythm accompanied by collective dancing and (2) *guedra* (*gedra*) – spectacular dance, performed by a woman, dancing on her knees. *Daqqa* in its genuine form can be found only in the Marrakech region, while *guedra* is native to the Tuareg population, inhabiting the south of Morocco.

Apart from traditional music, the Moroccan musical stage hosts a number of other genres, of non-Moroccan origin. For instance, *rai* (*raay*) – a popular music with often politicized lyrics that emerged in Algeria in the last third of the 20th century. Moroccan *rai* has not become as popular as its Algerian prototype but still has its niche. Among Moroccan *rai* stars one can mention Cheb Douzi (born 1970) and Cheb Mimoun El Oujdi (born 1950). This genre enjoys special popularity in the eastern part of Morocco, close to the Algerian border (Pakkala 2007).

Another non-Moroccan genre that enjoys considerable popularity among Moroccan audience is *sharqi* (*šarqi* - 'eastern'), or popular songs from the eastern part of the Arab World, first of all, Egypt, whose capital, Cairo, remains, according to researchers, 'the entertainment capital of the Middle East' (Grippo 2010: 141). Indeed, the famous Egyptian singers like Umm Kulthum (1904-1975), Farid al-Atrash (1907-1974) and Abdelhalim Hafez (1929-1977) have considerably influenced the musical tastes of the entire Arab world. Today, there are a number of new Egyptian singers, such as Amr Diab (born 1961), Hakim (born 1961), Tamer Hosny (born 1977) and Sherine (born 1980), that enjoy huge popularity everywhere in the Middle East, including Morocco. Among other Arab countries that 'supply' famous singers to the pop-music stage of the Arab world, are Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. The stardom status of the *sharqi* genre inspires a fair number of Moroccan singers to create their own *sharqi* songs or at least to perform 'authentic', i.e., created in the traditional way, *sharqi* hits before their Moroccan audience. Among such singers, who have *sharqi* songs in their repertoire are Samira Said (born 1957), Aadnan El Khaldi (born 1983) and Mourad Bouriki (born 1991).

In the big cities, such as Casablanca, Rabat, Fes, Meknes and Marrakech, there are a lot of musical bands who choose to perform either pure Western genres, such as rock, reggae, fusion, blues, rap and hip-hop, or try to mix Western style with the local, traditional tunes. The most popular representatives of what can be called non-traditional genres are *Hoba-Hoba Spirit* – a band that plays rock, blues and fusion, and *Don Bigg* – the country's most accredited rapper. This non-traditional type of music is currently gaining popularity among wider masses of the Moroccan youth (LeVine 2008; Caubet 2010; Gintsburg 2013).

3.2.2 The Genres of the Jbala

This study focuses on three genres of the poetico-musical art of the Jbala area: *ayta*, *ayyuu* (*ɛayyuuɛ*) and *ughniya* (*ughniya*). Another, quite famous variety of the Jbala musical heritage, is the *jahjouka* (or *jajuuka*), existing only in the village with the same name Jajuuka, located near the town Qsar el-Kbir and inhabited by the Jbala tribe Ahl Srif. This genre is exclusively instrumental, hence, it is not studied in the present work. The reason why the three genres mentioned above were chosen is that only these share a lot stylistically and textually and, hence, seem to share a sizable amount of the same formulaic vocabulary. Most monographs and articles of an ethnographical character on Northern Morocco published at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century mention various musical genres, such as *ayta* and *guebbahi*, both classified as masculine genres, *ayyuu* and *allal*,

classified as feminine ones (Michaux-Bellaire 1905: 152-156) and *tabal* and *ghaita* (Salmon 1904: 236). Today however, the musical tradition of the Jbala knows only the three vocal genres mentioned and one instrumental one, and none of my four informants (see Chapter 5 for details), even those of an older age, indicated that they had ever heard of any other genres. The reason why French authors at the time distinguished additional varieties can probably be explained by their rather superficial knowledge of the subject, since the primary purpose of scientific expeditions undertaken by the French at the turn of the 20th century was to study and document social and political structures of the region, rather than to comprehensively survey local culture and arts. Another possible explanation could be that *ayta*, which is a multi-part musical piece, has acquired its modern shape relatively recently; hence, it could embody other, now completely forgotten, independent genres, which now serve as parts of it.

Traditionally, the Jbala trace their ethnic and cultural origin to the glorious *époque* of Moorish Andalusian Spain (711-1492). Any Jbala musician and singer (in this thesis I equally use terms 'singer' and 'poet' because Jbala poetry does not exist without music and a local poet almost always sings his own songs and often accompanies himself with a musical instrument), if asked, will usually tell an outsider the legend of Tariq Bnu Ziad, the famous conqueror of Spain, his trip through the Straight of Gibraltar (*Jabal Tariq*, the Mountain of Tariq, hence Gibraltar), and the sad end of Arab rule in Spain (ML: 1, 2010; see Appendix II for the coding system of the interviews used in this thesis). The continuity between the Jbala region and Andalusia is very strong until today. Indeed, musically, as will be shown below, the *ayta* and *at-tarab al-andaluusi* or Andalusian music have a lot in common, the only difference being that *ayta* is less complicated in structure and includes several local varieties. According to Mohammed Laaroussi, this is because *ayta*, unlike *tarab*, has never been notated or documented otherwise (ML: 1, 2010).

If the origins of *ayta* are easy to trace and establish, this is not the case with the two other genres studied in this research *ayyuu* and *ughniya*. I assume that both of these genres have probably appeared as a result of the influence of the traditional Rifian Amazigh poetico-musical culture, which is a geographical neighbor of the Jbala. Rifian Amazigh knows two major types of songs: *ayta* and *izran*. Of these, the latter has two traditions, masculine and feminine (Biarnay 1915: 30). The masculine tradition called *rarour* and the feminine called *rehwa* display important similarities with *ayyuu*: they consist of two- or three-line stanzas, share the same topics and are performed in the same way, i.e., in the form of dialogues.

Ayta

Despite the fact that *ayta* is usually seen as a traditionally masculine genre, i.e., sung by males, and until very recent times this was the case indeed, today female singers can perfectly well perform *ayta* at public concerts and gatherings. For instance, Latifa Laaroussia, one of the singers participating in this study and famous for singing *ayta*s, says that the only conditions a woman should comply with if she wants to perform *aytas* are to have a strong vocal talent so that she can sing together with men, to know the lyrics, and to master the timing specific for *ayta* (LL2: 2, 2010).

Musicological studies (Aydoun 1995) see the Jbala *ayta* as a northern or mountain variety of the general Moroccan *ayta*, and term it therefore as *ayta jabaliya* or *ayta shamaliya*. Another name, preferred by Moroccan musicology, is *taqtuqa*. The origin of this name lies in the verb *ṭaqṭaq* - 'to tap'. According to Mohammed Laaroussi, who participated in this study as one of the key informants (see Appendix II for details), the origin of the term *taqtuqa* lies in the phrase *ṭaqtaq lii šii ḥaaja* - 'tap something for me', which the Jbala singers used, and still use, to address a musician with a percussion instrument to accompany his or her singing. However, all musicians I have discussed this issue with, agree that the correct term for this genre should be *ayta*, though some of them prefer to use the term *taqtuqa* in order to emphasize its uniqueness and beauty compared to other varieties of *ayta* found in Morocco. Abdelmalek al-Andalussi, a singer and musician from the Tangier area (see Chapter 5 for details), suggested during one of our conversations that the term *taqtuqa* was mistakenly borrowed from the Arab East, in particular from Egypt and Lebanon. However, this theory was met with great displeasure by the members of his group, who happened to be present, because they preferred to think that *taqtuqa* is a very local term and has nothing to do with any other music whatsoever. Later on, Mohammed Laaroussi, who can be considered the most reputable source of information, and who is one of the oldest living musicians and singers of the Jbala shed more light on this issue and offered as an explanation the following story. Soon after regaining independence in 1956, the Moroccan government decided to produce a series of TV programs dedicated to different varieties of folk music the country is so famous for, and, obviously, to stimulate national consciousness. One of these programs was to introduce to the Moroccan television viewers the popular music of the Jbala area. For this purpose two of the most famous musicians of the area of that time were invited: Mohammed Belarbi and Mohammed al-Ghiyathi, who were supposed to perform several local *ayta*s and *ughniya*s (see below). Whether it was in order to emphasize the uniqueness and otherness of this very variety of Moroccan *ayta*s or for some other reason, the people responsible for this program decided to call

this genre *taqtuqa*, a term which resounded throughout the Middle East in the 1950s-1960s thanks to Egyptian and Lebanese musicians. Belarbi and al-Ghiyathi were very surprised by this unusual twist, and tried to explain that in Jbala music there had never been any mention of anything like *taqtuqa*, but the decision had already been made. For several decades, Jbala singers and musicians tried to adjust to this new name imposed by people who knew very little about local traditions; by 2000 *taqtuqa* finally became a generally acknowledged synonym for *ayta* (ML: 1, 2010). Since then both terms are used. However, to avoid confusion, and in solidarity with the purists in the Jbala musical tradition, I will henceforth use the term *ayta*.

Usually an *ayta (ayta* being derived from the verb *ɛayyat* - 'to cry, to call, to invoke') starts with invocations to God, the Prophet Mohammed, or a local saint, most often to the saint patron of all Jbala tribes, Moulay Abdessalam ben Mshiish. This tradition sends us back to certain rituals of pre-Islamic religion, practiced by the Amazigh population of this region long before the Arab conquest in the 7th and 8th century AD. Goldziher (1887: 48-51) and Doutté (1900: 10-11) discussed this traditional cult of saints, marabouts, and various patron saints, which is widely spread in Northern Africa and especially in Morocco, as an influence of the ancient Amazigh religion. Lévi-Provençal (1918: 215), in an article on a religious song from the Jbala region, comes to the same conclusion. There is little doubt that this tradition of mentioning the names of holy people, which can be seen also in songs of other genres, is linked to this pre-Islamic ancestral cult.

Examples (1) and (2) below give an idea of how a traditional text of an *ayta* typically begins:

(1) aa wa-bismilla bdiina
In the name of God we begin,
aa wa–ɛala n-nbii ṣalliina
And we bless the Prophet (Appendix I, LL1 10: 1-2, 11: 1-2)

And further:

(2) aa wa-seyyidna Muḥammed
Ah and our Master is Muhammed
aa wa-huwa šaafeɛ fiina
Ah and he is our patron (Appendix I, LL1 10: 3-4, 11: 3-4)

Similar allusions to local patron saints can be met in the oral poetry of the neighboring areas of the Amazigh-speaking Rif. Biarnay (1915-1916) collected some traditional Rifian *aytas*. He translated them and published his translation. Unfortunately he did not publish the Amazigh original. Examples (3) and (4) show how a traditional Rifian *ayta* starts.

(3) La rivière est en crue! Elle est pleine de pommes!
The river is flushing, it is full of apples
Au pélerinage de Sidi Chaib-ou-Neftah!
To the Shrine of Sidi Chaib-ou-Neftah!

Or:

(4) La poudre est brûlante! ô mon cousin!
The gunpowder is burning! Oh, my cousin!
Mezurez! Mezurez la poudre! ô Mouh' ô A'omar! ô mes frères!
Weigh! Weigh the powder! Oh, Mouh! Oh, A' omar! Oh, my brothers!
Nous aurons des pièces d'argent grandes et petites!
We will have silver coins, big and small!
Par A'li Bou-Ghalem, flambeau des Djebala!
With the help of Ali Bu Ghaalem, the oil lamp of the Jbala!

Further invocations to the Prophet and saints occur throughout the song and are interlaced with references to various geographical localities, tribes, and past military showdowns.

Today, in the natural settings, *ayta* is performed during seasonal pilgrimages to the shrines of local patron saints of the region, at weddings, and at other important social events of the Jbala people. I have noticed, however, that it is more and more often recorded by professional singers in the studio.

Though the geographical area inhabited by the Jbala is relatively small, the manner of musical performance differs from one area to another. Thus, Mohammed Laaroussi insists that not only the way of playing but also *iqaa* (*iqaaɛ*), musical timing, is different in Tangier and, say, Taounate (ML: 2, 2010). Nevertheless, in agreement with professional musicologists (Aydoun 1995: 58, 111), he sees the origins of *ayta* in the medieval Andalousian music and agrees that by and large any *ayta* from the Jbala area structurally represents a simplified version of *Andalousian tarab* (ML: 2, 2010). *Ayta* is a multiple movement musical piece that was highly influenced by the canons of Andalusian musical tradition. It consists of the following movements (Aydoun 1995: 111-116, Maghnia & Kharchafi 2000: 22-24):

1 *frash* (*fraaš*) – beginning, this is a kind of instrumental musical prelude, which prepares the audience for the following part. In the tribes which inhabit the Northwest of the region, i.e., Bni Gorfet and Bni 'Arus the term *rayla* (*raayla*) is used. Musicians from the tribe Laxmaas in the Northeast of the region insist that the genuine term for the prelude is *guwaliya* (*guwaaliya*). According to Abdelmalek al-Andalussi from the Jbel Lahbib tribe, the *rayla* is a separate independent musical piece of instru-

mental character, which initially had lyrics as well, but gradually these lyrics disappeared. It is also quite possible that all or at least some musical parts of the *ayta* had been independent pieces in the past, and then gradually developed into complex musical creations made up of several parts.

2 *ayta* – or the vocal part, which gave the name to the genre. In the Jbala tradition it is performed according to one of two local timings, or *iqaa* (*iqaaε*), which are called *qrunbul* (*qrunbul*) and *sunbul* (*ṣunbul*). *Ayta* contains numerous invocations to God, the Prophet, and various local saints.

3 *gubbahi* (*qubbaaḥi*) or *araj* (*εaraj*) (*qantara* (*qanṭara*) in the Andalousian musical tradition) is an instrumental interlude or a sort of shift from the song itself to the final part of the musical piece (Michaux-Bellaire 1911).

4 The final part is called *ghta* (*ghṭa*), also known as *dridka* (*dridka*) or *msarraf* (*mṣarraf*). Andalousian tradition prefers the term *insiraf* (*inṣiraaf*); in European tradition it can be identified as a call to dance.

The chronologically earliest work available on the subject, Muliéras (1899: 13), states that there are two types of the song in the Jbala area: *ayta* or a musical piece appropriate for singing, and *gubbahi*, a musical piece appropriate for collective dancing. Similarly, Lévi-Provençal (1922: 110-113) gives a sample of a Jbala song that he terms as *ghayta d-el-gubbahi* which probably should be read as *ayta d-al-gubbahi*. Structurally the text of this song is reminiscent of the modern *ayta*. Consequently, it can be assumed that *ayta* in its modern shape has been formed as a separate genre relatively recently, and includes in its structure some old and traditional separate genres like *guwwala* (or *rayla*), *ayta*, *gubbahi* (*araj*), and *ghta* (*dridka* or *msarraf*).

Ayyuu

Just like the *ayta* is originally masculine, *ayyuu* is traditionally defined as a feminine genre. However it can today also be performed by male singers, on the condition that they can reach very high notes. Mohammed Laaroussi, one of the singers participating in this study, for instance, is famous for singing *ayyuu*. *Ayyuu* is usually performed during agricultural festivities or the seasonal pilgrimages to graves of local Jbala saints. One of the most typical occasions on which one can hear *ayyuu*, is the so called *tawiza* (*tawiiza*) or *tawaza* (*tawaaza*), festivity dedicated to harvesting, where the members of a tribe get together to help each other in the fields. While working, the women start what can be called a dialog, or poetic dueling, i.e., one of them starts with a short verse and then somebody else has to respond in a similar manner. Topics can be anything from harvesting to romance and humor. Example (5) is a typical illustration to this:

(5) wa-maa ṣ-ṣayf ṣayyafnaaha
We spent the harvest time
wa-l-ɛayš maa ḍmannaaha
but life does not have any guaranties (LL2: 2, 2010)

Ayyuu is also performed during *moussems*, or seasonal pilgrimages to the shrines of the numerous local saints, where female visitors, who represent different Jbala tribes, take turns in singing short verses, usually of a religious character. The following lines (6) are an example of *ayyuu* usually performed at the shrine of Moulay Abdessalaam:

(6) ṭulɛu ṭolba yezuuru
fe l-ɛaqba yertaaḥu
Those who know the Qur'an by heart went to visit [his shrine],
They are resting on the mountainside;
wa-l-ḥbiib muulaay ɛAbdessalaam
warriwni martaaḥu
And our beloved Moulay Abdessalam,
Show me the place where he has reposed (LL2: 2, 2010)

Latifa Laaroussia defines *ayyuu* as a local variety of *mawwal* (*mawwaal*), a traditional vocal music widely spread throughout the Arab world, which is sung in Colloquial Arabic: in her attempt to describe what exactly *ayyuu* is, she refers to it as *mawwal d Jbaala* or *mawwal* of the mountains (LL2: 2, 2010). In other words, *ayyuu* can be classified as a dialectal vocal song, traditionally collectively performed by women on a number of social events, as well as when performing various works.

There is much more information on *ayta* than on any other genre, and indeed there is very little on *ayyuu*. This is most probably due to the fact that *ayyuu* has never been of scholarly interest and, hence, has never been properly studied. One of the few things to be mentioned here is that *ayyuu* is often sung without instrumental accompaniment, although sometimes a *ghayta* (a double-reed oboe) can be used. Another specific trait of *ayyuu* is that it is always sung on the same melody, and does not have any preludes or choruses (LL2: 2, 2010).

Ughniya

The third popular genre of Jbala poetry and, consequently, music is *ughniya*, i.e., songs, or, as they are sometimes termed by local musicians, *ughniya ijtimaiya* (*ughniya ijtimaaɛiya*), songs of a social character, and *ughniya wataniya* (*ughniya waṭaniya*), patriotic songs (ML: 1, 2010). One of the favorite tools is the dialogue again, i.e., *muhawara* (*muḥaawara*), which is not necessarily performed by two singers but can perfectly well be performed by a

single singer. Such songs often have a humorous character. *Ughniya* has a clear stanzaic structure but the number of lines per stanza is not fixed; they vary from two to eight. This genre does not have any rigid canons that a singer should follow while performing a song in this genre. Regardless of the topic, an *ughniya* can start with a chorus or with a stanza. As is discussed below, *ughniya* can sometimes start with a sort of poetic prelude, *mawwal* or *mqaddima*. Today, *ughniya* can be performed by both male and female singers although until the recent past, i.e., till about fifty years ago, public performing was only allowed for men and young boys, the latter were supposed to imitate women and dressed for this purpose in female clothes.

In everyday life, *ughniya* can be performed everywhere and on any occasion: during agricultural works, while doing house chores, on an important event, and at any collective gathering. At the same time, just like is the case with *ayta*, it is becoming the domain of professional singers, who perform it during musical and folklore festivals and other cultural events, as well as record their albums that contain *ughniyas* and *aytas* at professional recording studios.

Ughniya is often performed not as an independent musical piece but as part of a long non-stop performance in the following manner: the orchestra starts with a traditional *ayta*, then shifts without any pause to other songs and finishes with a dance part, which, as a rule, includes a masculine solo dance and/or a feminine group dance. The musical canons do not undergo any changes, and fully comply with the ones typical for the performing of *ayta*. If *ughniya* is performed separately, it always starts with a sort of musical prelude, which today reminds one a lot of *ayta*.

Poem and Song

As poems and songs stand central in this thesis, it makes sense to spend some words on the relationship between both. Where some theorists state that in combination a poem and music accomplish each other, others consider this relationship as simply 'agonic' (Kramer 1984: 129-130), since, when put together, music and text undermine each other's qualities.

All theories, however, agree on the similarities of poem and song. Bernac (1978: 3-4), for instance, notices that: 'in vocal music, the sonority and the rhythm of the words are an integral part of the music itself. The word is itself a musical sound… The music of the words and the music itself are one and the same; they should not be disassociated.' Indeed, both poets and musicians work with sounds; the only difference is that the poets achieve structural and sound effects with words, while the musicians do it with notes. A song therefore is a child of the union of poetry and music. In other

words, a song in its standard understanding is 'vocally performed verses set to music' (Ramazani 2013: 194).

Consequently, it is important to treat a song as a combination of text and music, not as pure poetry, since that can lead to overestimation of poetic elements, such as rhyme, rhythm and meter, as well as accuracy in following a certain poetic pattern, for instance (but not necessarily), stanza-chorus-stanza. Treating a song as an independent poetic text can also lead to overestimation of its semantic value. That said, a song text should not be studied outside its vocal, musical and social contexts (Ramazani 2013: 193).

3.3 The Performance

3.3.1 Live Performance

Conventionally a group that performs an *ayta*, *ughniya*, and recently also an *ayyuu* consists of four up to twenty people, musicians and singers all together. According to the tradition, all members of the group are supposed to be males, but as was already mentioned, today women participate in the performance of songs of all genres and can even be lead singers, which is, for instance, the case with Latifa Laaroussia, whose musical career and achievements are discussed in Chapter 5. Musical groups are often formed from natives of different tribes. Dancers can also be engaged in the performance, further increasing the number of people engaged in it.

The instruments used for performing an *ayta* are generally string instruments: *swissen* (*swissen*) or *gembri* (*gembri*), high-pitched lutes made of turtle shell, *kamanja* (*kamaanja*), and violin. Various percussion instruments are used to mark the rhythm of the song: *derbuka* (*derbuuka*), a ceramic hand drum, *tarija* (*taɛriija*), a small hour-glass shaped drum with snares, *bendi*r (*bendiir*), a single-headed frame drum with snares, *tbel* (*ṭbel*), a double-headed drum and *tar* (*taar*), a single-headed frame drum. Sometimes an *ud* (*ɛuud*) or lute can be introduced into the orchestra, and recently some modern musical instruments like banjo and organ have been added. Both vocal and instrumental parts are usually accompanied by dances.

From the variety of dances existing in the region, three are to be mentioned here as they enjoy most popularity among the Jbala public: *raqs siniya* (*raqṣ ṣiiniiya*), a dance with a tray, and *raqs gnawa* (*raqṣ gnaawa*), the gnaoua dance, both require very good acrobatic skills and coordination, and are always performed by men. The third one, *tarida* (*taɛriiḍa*, see Picture 3.1), is performed by women wearing wide belts adorned with small mirrors; usually two women who are engaged in this dance stand in front of each other dressed in long *qaftans* (*qafṭaan*) that fully cover their bodies; their faces

are hidden under huge straw hats. It takes for them only a couple of seconds to catch the rhythm and start moving their hips, first slowly, then very energetically, often in circular motions, during which the mirrors on the dancers' belts start flashing and sparkling to the public's entertainment. Such dances can often be seen during concerts, weddings, parties, and other public events.

Picture 3.1: A *Tarida* dance (left); a gnawa dance (right; courtesy of Mohammed Amin Laaroussi)

Picture 3.2: *Ayyuu* sung by a group of women

A few separate words should be said about *ayyuu*, which is still usually performed by non-professional musicians in the natural settings. *Ayyuu* is sung by a group of women who are performing their daily chores together, or traveling together to a shrine of a local saint; the only musical instrument that can accompany the singing is the *ghaita* (a double-reed oboe). In this context, it is interesting to mention an observation made by Curtis (2001: 136), who reports that today even in natural settings, *ayyuu* can also be sung by a man if his voice is high enough. However, with this exception, today songs of the Jbala repertoire are almost always performed by professional musicians.

Lead singers often play a string instrument, or a percussive one. If the lead singer is female, as far as I can judge from my observations, she is not required to play any instrument and her main role remains just to sing (see

Picture 3.3). Usually a good, reputable singer has his own musical group, sometimes even two, members of which can live in different towns and get together on occasions like a big wedding, a festival, or a studio recording. Sometimes, only two or even a single musician is engaged in the process of performing, but such cases are not numerous, and do not seem to be valued by the audience, regarded by locals as *tijara* (*tijaara*), pure commerce. Regarding the participation of female singers in big professional musical groups, it is appropriate to add that this trend is, as I said already before, quite new: although I personally have never seen anything different, sources state that in earlier times, males dressed in female garments were engaged, for instance in the performance of feminine dances (Aydoun 1995: 111; Salmon 1904: 220), and if a dancer still happened to be a female, or *shettaha* (*šeṭṭaaḥa*), it was a necessary condition that she would never be from the same tribe as the audience (Michaux-Bellaire 1905: 145). This definitely tells us much about recent dramatic changes in the perception of women and their role in the modern Jbala society toward more freedom in practically all fields of life, including having a career in what is called in today's Western world show business.

Picture 3.3: A poster from a 2006 local musical festival depicting some of the leading modern Jbala singers (picture author)

Today, a group invited to an event settles on a kind of improvised stage, far apart from the audience and the leading singer, who is sometimes also a musical soloist, and who allocates him/herself in the middle of the stage. Traditional Jbala garments are essential for such concerts, where male participants are dressed in hooded woolen cloaks of dark brown color often decorated with small multicolored tassels called *jellaba* (*jellaaba*) put over a white shirt and white trousers, a turban made of yellow cotton, called *rezza* (*rezza*), and leather slippers called *belgha* (*belgha*). Women wear qaftans but sometimes wrap themselves with a piece of homespun striped woolen fabric called *mandil* (*mandiil*), on their feet they wear *belgha*; and their head is covered with a shawl called *sebniya* (*sebniiya*) and a big straw hat often decorated with multicolored pompons and small pieces of mirror called *tereza* (*tereeza*) or *shaashiya* (*šaašiiya*). However, the most recent trend I have noticed is using stylized costumes, especially by some female members of the group. For instance, Latifa Laaroussia often wears during her concerts a European

style trouser suit that is, however, at the same time made of traditional striped Jbala fabric, while Abdelmalik al-Andaloussi can show up in a skull-cap that looks traditional but is not authentic to this area of the country.

The group starts its performance with a musical prelude that is described below and that is usually followed by a traditional *ayta*. Then without any pause a series of various songs, including *ughniyas* and *ayyuu*, can follow, as long as the vocal talent of a male singer allows him to go to the high pitch needed to imitate feminine singing. Songs can be separated from each other by a dance, which is obviously done to let the lead singer rest before starting a new song. Such performances can last for several hours and always finish with either a male or a female dance, since Jbala almost never practice dances for both sexes. Sometimes performances can be accompanied by a stylized ritual of *buardiya* (*buardiiya*, see Picture 3.4), an old tradition of group shooting airwards. Ear-splitting fusillades of *buardiya* can be heard all over northern Morocco on various occasions: agricultural feasts, *frajas* (*fraaja*), weddings, circumcision and *moussems*, exactly as it has been done for hundreds of years (Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 134, 137; Mouliéras 1899: 494-497; Salmon 1904: 208, 211). It has also been popular among the neighbors of the Jbala, the Amazigh-speaking population of the Rif (Biarnay 1915: 43).

3.3.2 Studio Recording

Although live performances remain an essential part of the professional life of a Jbala musician, today the production of commercial records also constitutes an important part of his life and income. Jbala musicians were introduced to the world of professional studio recording relatively early – in the 1960s, when some of the local singers, such as Mokhtar Laaroussi, Mohammed al-Ghiyathi and Mohammed al-Ayachi (*aytas* of the two latter ones recorded then were included in the Secondary Corpus for this study), were invited to Casablanca together with their groups to be recorded for a number of TV programs featuring varieties of Moroccan folklore heritage. Today, recordings of Jbala music take place throughout the country, but mostly in the north: there are studios in Tangier, Tetouan, Chefchaouen, and Fes.

Picture 3.4: Ritual of buardiya during performance of an ayta (courtesy of Mohammed Amin Laaroussi)

The technical level and perspectives of studio recording have changed a lot during these fifty years. Gone are the days when everything in the studio was made with the help of analogue equipment; today, even small recording studios enjoy the benefits of digital sound and computer programs. Although the technologies used by local sound engineers are not as advanced as the ones used in the West, they are definitely progressing and improving. Moroccan studio gurus prefer concert type recordings to the studio ones, where, later on, a sound engineer can play with the vocals and separate instruments, bringing out the sound of some, and fading away the sound of some others. While listening to an audio record conducted at a local studio, however, one can encounter sound effects: for instance, in the record of '*Ayta of Tribe Darkuul*' performed by Mohammed Laaroussi and his group (song I in Appendix I), the text, about the local tradition of *buardiya* (see Section 3.4.1), is illustrated by the sounds of shooting guns, that were obviously inserted into the record after the song itself had been recorded. A similar technique was applied to the recording of another *ayta* - 'Ayta of Jerusalem' by Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi (Appendix I, AA 22). Other techniques used include sound-on-sound recording, delay, and reverberation, all very much in fashion practically everywhere in the world during the last decade.

Separately stands the case of *ayyuu*, which has kept its social context and is still often performed by non-professionals on various occasions. Eventually, this state of affairs has not contributed to the emergence of a need in listening to a professional record of a series of *ayyuu*s in the car or at home. As a result, *ayyuu* is hardly ever recorded at a professional studio, in other words, this genre has not been really commercialized. However, with the recent boom of video hosting sites and availability of cell phones with inbuilt video cameras, short sporadic video records of very poor quality that show a live, non-professional performing of *ayyuu* in natural settings appear and disappear from YouTube, Vimeo and other similar video-sharing online services.

One important recent trend that also deserves to be mentioned is that today a local singer does not have to bring along his group anymore to record a new song or an album. He can come alone or with a violin player, who will perform the violin solo, which is a must for any good Jbala song (LL2: 2, 2010), and the rest will be done with the help of modern computer programs.

3.4 Themes and Poetic Structure

As is the case with folk poetry in other parts of the Arab world, for instance Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine (Jargy 1970: 32), it is often difficult to clearly classify songs by genre, as the same song can belong to two or even more genres at the same time. Michaux-Bellaire (1911: 154) uses the term 'work songs' (*chansons du travail*) to describe the genre of *ayyuu*; in my opinion, this term can also be applied to the genre of *ayta*. Caton (1990: 45), writing on the oral traditions of Northern Yemen, notes that traditional folk songs should not be analyzed from the angle of the subject, but rather from the angle of their social function. However, in view of the dramatic changes in the lifestyle of the Jbala and the commercialization of their musical and oral tradition, I believe that the social context is slowly starting to get a new meaning; for example, today one can hear at a public concert a series of *aytas* followed or interlaced with *ayyuus*, which would never happen in a traditional everyday environment. Despite certain syncretism of the poetical genres, one might clearly define the following general motifs prevalent in Jbala poetry: songs touch on social, romantic, or political issues (ML: 1, 2010). These motifs can be found in all three genres – *ayta*, *ughniya* and *ayyuu*. Interesting enough, Jbala singers have quite different opinions on this matter. For instance, Mohammed Laaroussi insisted in the course of our conversation that all his songs have a theme and that having a theme is something absolutely necessary for a song (ML: 1, 2010). Latifa Laaroussia, in her turn, emphasized the importance of choosing the right chorus that ideally should contain the key theme of the song, which later on will run through the whole text. She strongly repeated that no song can be considered a success if the chorus is not good enough, or, in her words:

> *l-laazima ila kaat ɛandak l-laazima zweena wa-l-laḥn zwen f l-uwwal l-ughniya gha-trekkeb zweena… wa-ila kaan l-laḥn waalu wa-l-laazima waalu f l-uwwal l-ɛaraab lli gha-yektibha maa mwaafqa ši… laa*
>
> 'if you have a good chorus and good melody from the very beginning, the *ughniya* will go great… and if the melody is nothing special and chorus is nothing special from the very beginning and the future rhyme is not accurate… it will not work' (LL2: 2, 2010)

I would note here, however, that poetic texts by Latifa Laaroussia and Mohammed Laaroussi do not usually contain any specific plot and indeed simply touch on certain issues related to the three motifs mentioned above: social, romantic, or political issues.

The structure of the Jbala poetry differs from 'mainstream' classical Arabic poetry. The art of creating poems in Arabic has not come to Morocco

directly from the Arabian peninsula, the cradle of the classical *qasida* poetry, but via Andalusia. It should be of no surprise then that the Jbala poetic genres do not have anything in common with the traditional Arabic poem *qasida*, which is made of a *shatr*, or a half-line, that constitutes a *beyt*, or a poetic line; both half-lines have their own terms – *sadr* (*ṣadr*) and *ajuz* (*ɛajuuz*) respectively. At the same time, the poetic tradition of medieval Andalusia knew two major genres – *muwashshah* (*muwaššah*) and *zajal* (*zajal*). Both *muwashshah* and *zajal* were strophic poetry but the first one was mostly composed in Classical Arabic, while the second one in vernacular language. It was the Andalusian strophic poetry that had shaped the poetic tradition of the western Arabs, i.e., the Maghreb countries, while the *qasida* form has always been associated with the eastern Arabs (Rosen 2006: 165). Researchers state that *muwashshah* and *zajal* gave birth to the Moroccan variety of *qasida*, also referred to as *malhun* (*malḥuun*), although they did so indirectly (Glasser 2008: 14-15). Structurally, a *muwashshah* and *zajal* are made of polyrhyme strophes, *beyt*s. Each *beyt* is then composed of *ghusns* (*ghuṣn*), lines that end with the rhyme, uniform for the *beyt* and *samts*, lines that end with the rhyme uniform for the whole poem (Rosen 2006: 167). There can be variations in the structure, for instance, a poem can start with a prelude – *matlaa* (*maṭlaɛ*), or it can end with a certain finishing chorus – *kharja* (*xaarja*) but the principle difference between these two genres remains the language.

The Jbala poetry, which is, first of all, intended to be sung, and not for recitation, is characterized by less complicated structures. Eventually, the Jbala tradition has been influenced by the local Amazigh poetry (see Section 3.2), as well as the *malhun*, or dialectal poetry, popular throughout the Maghreb countries (Pellat 1991). However, there has not been conducted any thorough research on this subject and this assumption is of a purely speculative nature. That said, all Jbala songs, with the exception of *ayyuu*, consist of *beyt* - 'stanza' and *lazima* (*laazima*) - 'chorus'. Typically *ayta* and *ughniya* have four-line stanzas, where the first (or the first two) and the last (or the last two) lines can be separated from each other by a chorus. There are songs, however, where the stanzaic structure is not stable or where stanzas are lengthy. The rhyme pattern can be any possible combination.

The poetic tradition of the Jbala does not imply a fixed number of syllables per line, the number roughly varying from four to eleven. The examples below are the longest (7) and shortest (8) poetic lines found in the corpus:

(7) faatet mudda wa-ḥann qalbi li blaadi
Some time has passed and my heart yearned for my country
wa-msaḥ jmaalha wa-maaha wa-l-waadi
The purity of the beauty of my country, water and river (Appendix I, ML 5: 5-6)

(8) muktaab alla
God wanted
haada l-tṣarrif ɛaleyya
Such a treatment for me (Appendix I, ML 2: 9-10)

The most common quantity of syllables per line is six to eight. It is common for the poetry of the Jbala to have irregular numbers of syllables within the limits of the same stanza. Such irregularities can be perfectly explained by the improvisational nature of this art, when the singer does not have enough time to recall or produce syllabically correct lines and only leans on the rhythm typical for this genre and the formulas he or she has in the arsenal.

One of the more recent trends I observed in the course of the interviews I held with local poets and singers is the tendency to make the semantic content of a text, often improvised, more solid and referring to the reality of modern life or, in other words, the new social context. If traditional songs do not often have any plot, and no semantic link between one stanza and the next, the 'modernized' ones can have very well structured content, and even represent a small narrative. This is the case, for instance, with the song *xaay yaa l-ɛaziiz* - 'My Dear Brother', which can be classified as an *ughniya*. Its author, Abdelmalek al-Andalussi, who is concerned with the problems of urbanization in Moroccan society and emigration from Morocco to Europe, has created a number of songs touching on this subject. Example (9) shows how Abdelmalek admonishes his compatriots against escaping from their motherland and warns about possible hardships:

(9) aa xaay yaa l-ɛaziiz
Ah my dear brother,
yaa-l-maaši l Uruppa
Ah who is going to Europe!
nenṣeḥ lak maa temši l Uruppa
I advise you not to go to Europe,
aa xaay ḥetta temma l-bṭaala
Ah brother even there they have unemployment! (Appendix I, AA 20: CH 1)

Earlier, I mentioned that the structure of Jbala poetry is less complicated than that of, for instance, *qasida*, in the classical Arabic tradition. The same observation can be applied to the rhyme canons: unlike in *qasida*, as well as the local Maghrebi tradition of *malhun* (Shaqruun 2001: 20), the fixed rhyme, and especially monorhyme, does not seem to be a compulsory requirement for the poem, at least until very recent times. Though in interviews, Jbala poets insist that *qafiya* (*qaafiya*) 'rhyme' should be maintained at the end of each line, it turns out to be not that easy. The following excerpt belongs to

one of the most renowned Jbala poets, Mohammed Laaroussi. The rhyme pattern is supposed to be ABAB; however, in this particular stanza (example (10)) lines one and three do not properly rhyme:

(10) 1 yaa Rḥiimu miskiina
Oh, poor Rhimu,
2 tebɛuuha be jurra
They took her against her will!
3 kiif jraa lik yaa benti
How did it happen to you, my girl,
4 ḥetta ɛabbawuk be l-qurra
That they took you by force? (Appendix I, ML 2: 13-16)

The role of rhyme has been explained by one of the key singers of the region, Latifa Laaroussia, during the interview I held with her in 2010. While trying to explain how to make a good song, Latifa emphasized the importance of maintaining the rhyme in the following manner:

l-qaafiya l-axaraaniya mɛa l-beyt al-axraani tjiibha niišaan f fraaš wa-tjiib haada wa-nti ka-tghanni fiiha l-laazima… ana š-Šaraɛ ɛayyani wa-l-beyt at-taani aana maašša ḥaali maa tšuufuuni men haadi… wa-aana… laa…

'the [rhyme] you use in the final stanza should be maintained from the beginning of the song and you also use it when you sing your chorus… [for example]: *that ash-Sharaa made me sick* and in the second stanza *and I am leaving on my own and you will not see me anymore… and I…*, no, it does not work this way' (LL2: 2, 2010)

In this example, Latifa explicitly demonstrates the restrictions a Jbala poet faces while making a text: not only is he supposed to come up with a line of a certain length and link it semantically with the text but he is also expected to produce a number of similar lines that will end with the same syllable, if the rhyme pattern is AAAA, or alternate them, if the rhyme pattern is, for instance, ABAB.

In an interview with another key figure for, Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi, who, as he claimed, even had read some plays of Shakespeare in Arabic translation (see Section 5.2.4), decided to explain to me, a foreigner in his eyes, what the drawbacks were of the traditional oral poetry of the Jbala, including *ayta*. In his opinion, one of the weakest points of the Jbala poets was their incompetence in poetry and its canons, which modern, more educated poets will have to overcome. To his credit, I must say that almost none of the poems composed by al-Andaloussi have any rhyme imperfections.

It should be noted here that the small rhyme defects described above are difficult to notice when Jbala songs are being performed. During performance, it is the rhythm that appears to be of great significance for the Jbala singer. In a way, it resembles the tradition of Andalusian *muwashshah*, where the rhythm, according to the opinion of several researchers, has considerably influenced the shift of accent, due to the fact that *muwashshahs* were composed as an integral part of a song with its melody and rhythm (Rosen 2006: 181). While performing a song, the Jbala singer is bound first of all by the rhythmical pattern typical for the genre, but he also has to improvise a lot. In this regard, I would like to refer again to the opinion of Latifa Laaroussia, who underlines that success of any song is directly linked to chorus, melody, and the ability of the singer to play with different melodic patterns to impress the audience (LL2: 2).

3.5 Jbala Tradition Today: Between Traditionalism and Artistic Creativity

As almost any genre that has been shaped in the context of Arabo-Islamic culture, known for its conservatism, the songs of the Jbala are traditional by their very definition, and exist within fairly strict genre requirements and canons. In general, this state of affairs is typical for all traditional cultures. One may wonder, however, whether traditionality fully excludes a creative and novel approach to creating songs within the genres of *ayta*, *ayyuu* or *ughniya*.

In the course of the 20th century it was a common trend among art philosophers to oppose tradition with creativity, meaning that in an artistic context tradition has a negative impact on the creative abilities of the artist and, hence, should be avoided by all means (Carroll 2007: 208-209). Today the opinion on tradition has become more favorable: it is mostly seen as a necessary base for most artists at least in the beginning of their career, because they learn their art by copying the already existing pieces. Tradition is essential for creative art work because it is 'the living past of a practice […] it is indispensable […] [and] serves to fix the horizon of possibilities that lie before the artist (Carroll 2007: 217).

This positive shift in opinion on the role of tradition in artistic activity became possible mostly because art philosophers started to distinguish tradition from traditionalism or traditionality. As a result, it is a common idea that, while tradition is vital to any artist in contemporary Western culture, traditionalism is seen as excessive devotion to tradition. Some even go as far as to say that 'traditionalism kills true tradition' (Spencer 1999: 112)

and that it is a 'product of men devoid of creative ability and incapable of original thought' (Spencer 1999: 112).

This approach reflects current trends in Western culture, where a piece of art, whether visual or other, is seen as unique (Gracyk 2012: 167-168). In other words, a piece of art can be created only once and is distinguished on this criterion from copies or traditional pieces. In short, it is characterized by individuality, singularity and novelty. In traditional cultures, however, individuality, singularity and novelty are not always welcomed because these cultures are often driven not only by tradition, but by desire for tradition. This creates a different understanding of creativity, i.e, traditional creativity – one that does not challenge the tradition but rather helps to keep it alive. It can be explained by the fact that basics of Islamic culture do not welcome artistic creativity in the Western understanding of this term, they are rather meant to make an individual artist follow certain, once established canons and create within them.

In general, the songs of the Jbala fit this understanding of traditional creativity well. On the one hand, the genres that became the subject of this research, are traditional. It is no coincidence that Mohammed Laaroussi mentions in the interviews several times that the songs he makes are simplified version of the Andalusian heritage, or as he puts it:

> *l-ɛayṭa hiya t-turaat l-aṣiliiya ka-taɛraf minayn jiya? jiya men l-Andaluus haad ṭ-ṭarab el-jabali maɛa ṭ-ṭarab el-andaluusi maaššiin bjuuj men l-Andaluus… gheyr Andaluusi mduwwan wa-ṭarab al-jabali maa mduwwan ši'*
>
> '*Ayta* is [our] authentic heritage, do you know from where it came? It came to us from al-Andalus, Jbala music and Andalusian music they both came from al-Andalus… the difference is that Andalusian music was put in writing and the Jbala one was not' (ML: 1, 2010)

It is also no coincidence that one of the singers whose songs were used in this research has the last name al-Andaloussi - 'from Andalousia' or 'of Andalusian decent'. This last name sends us back to the small village where Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi was born, l-Andalous - 'Andalousia'. This village is located close to Tangier, in the territory of the tribe Jbel Lahbib (Mrabet 2012b). This shows that the Jbala people do feel that they are a part of the Andalusian civilization. Apparently, local singers and musicians also feel the connection with the Andalusian old and reputable musical tradition, they know what the canons are that they need to follow, and the ideal they should aspire to.

On the other hand, it is important to understand that Jbala music has become a popular genre and, unlike many other traditions that are now

dead, has managed to survive until today because of its ability to reflect the everyday life of the Jbala people, which requires a certain flexibility and the ability to change. The age of globalization induces changes in the lives of traditional societies (Osterhammel & Petersson 2005), and Jbala are no exception: fragments of other distant cultures penetrate the life of the mountaineers and the pace of life is speeding up. Eventually, the singers cannot escape these changes if they want to stay popular among their audience.

Picture 3.5: Novelty and Traditionalism: Latifa Laaroussia is performing at a concert in Chefchaouen in 2007. Together with traditional musical instruments one can see a Western drum set behind her back (courtesy of Latifa Laaroussia)

Such flexibility can be achieved by introducing new musical instruments and playing techniques when it comes to the music, and by introducing new topics and expressions, when it comes to lyrics. In other words, the ability to be flexible, even within the strict limits of tradition, requires artistic creativeity and novelty. Indeed, today one can see how some Jbala musicians start using electrical instruments, such as electrical violin, and Western percussion, such as a bass drum, a snare drum and cymbals, perhaps because they feel that this is what can help their art to better reflect the reality of today's life. Jbala artists may also want to make similar changes to their lyrics if they want their tradition to reflect modern issues. For instance, in his song *mulaati Šaama* - 'My Dear Shama', Abdelmalek al-Andalussi invites his compatriots to think about the mass emigration to Europe that has seriously affected the Jbala region (example (11)):

(11) ana mzaaweg f lla wa-fiik
I am asking God and you,
mši w-aji lla yexalliik
Please go and please come back!
maa bqa ḥaad f l-baadiya
No one is left in the countryside,

gheyr l-ḥjaar wa-l-hindiya
Only stones and cacti. (Appendix I, AA, 21 5-8)

Picture 3.6: Novelty and Traditionalism: Jbala singers Abdelmalek Laaroussi, Latifa Laaroussia, Karima Tanjaouia and Mohammed Amin Laaroussi (right to left) are recording a new album with traditional aytas and ughniyas at a modern recording studio in Tangier in 2010 (courtesy of Mohammed Amin Laaroussi)

It is not surprising then that contemporary Jbala music is both traditional and creative. Traditionality plays a role as a restrictive tool for *jebli* musicians and poets: it sets the genre requirements, and the limits that should not be crossed. At the same time, it also encourages them to explore new horizons and choices within the local tradition.

CHAPTER 4

Research Questions and Methodology

This chapter first presents the research questions posed in the thesis and then justifies why the choice was made in favor of these particular questions. It subsequently explains the methodology of defining and distinguishing formulaic lines from non-formulaic ones, using criteria suggested by Monroe (1972) and Zwettler (1978), suited to the analysis of poetic Arabic material. The chapter also offers a new classification of formulaic material that is effective for calculating levels of formulaicity. Finally, the chapter discusses the approach to literacy that is used in this study, explains what is meant in this study by context and suggests what other, contextual, factors should be taken into consideration while analyzing the use of formulaicity in Jbala poetry.

4.1 Research Questions

This study explores formulaic language in the modern songs of the Jbala and the factors that determine the Jbala singer's choice in favor or against formulaic language. One of the issues of significance raised by Parry and Lord, the founding fathers of the Oral-Formulaic Theory, is the idea that there is a direct connection between illiteracy and formulaic language. Consequently, formulaic language was then regarded as an intrinsic feature of orality and was seen by Lord and a number of his followers as not compatible with literacy. It was Lord's conviction that, once an illiterate poet became familiar with the written word, he could not be considered an oral/formulaic poet anymore (Lord 1960: 129-130).

This prediction of formulaic language as an attribute of orality, and the notion that literacy is exclusive of orality, agreed with the main principles of the Theory of the Great Divide, namely: there is a dramatic cognitive difference between the illiterate and literate worlds, or between the oral world and the world of the written word, with the latter superseding the former. For proponents of both these theories – Great Divide (Lévi-Strauss 1962,

1966; Goody 1968, 1977) and the Oral Formulaic – this naturally implied that literacy and formulaicity are mutually exclusive phenomena.

This study focuses on modern Jbala poetry, analyzing the songs of four contemporary representative singers. A methodologically hybrid approach leads first to the establishment of the extent to which the songs of each of the four singers is formulaic, and second to an integral picture of whether and if so, to what extent Jbala poetry in general is formulaic. A third step focuses on the literacy question, followed, finally, by the question to what extent context plays a role in the use of formulaicity by the four singers. Based on the foregoing, the objective of the present research is to address the following questions:

1a What is the general picture of formulaicity in the songs of each of the four singers – Mohammed Laaroussi, Lahcen Laaroussi, Latifa Laaroussia and Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi – participating in this study?

1b What is the overall picture of formulaicity in modern Jbala poetry and in each of the three genres *ayta*, *ughniya* and *ayyuu*?

2 Does the literacy level of Jbala performers have an impact on their use of formulaic language?

3 What are the contextual factors and conditions that influence the choice of a modern Jbala poet in favor or against the use of formulaic language in his songs?

To answer these research questions I use texts of songs by four modern living Jbala singers as well as interviews and information received through personal encounters and phone conversations with them. For the readers' reference, the texts of the songs in Arabic language and their English translation are placed in Appendix I, the information on the interviews held with the singers are placed in Appendix II.

However, considering the complexity of defining what a formula is and in order to establish the formulaic nature of the modern material, and to minimize the possibility of taking for a formulaic expression something that is rather a random repetition within the same text, or the individual preference of one particular poet to certain poetic devices, I consider it important to take a historical perspective by investigating these same issues in older songs, i.e., songs that were registered by French academics at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century (Michaux-Bellaire 1911; Biarnay 1924) and in songs of a more recent date, i.e., the 1960s-1990s. These additional texts were placed in the so-called Secondary Corpus. Chapter 5 contains detailed information on the poets and the texts from the Core Corpus

and the Secondary Corpus together with the discussion on the criteria I used for choosing them. In the below sections of this chapter I discuss how I detected formulas in the songs in the Core and Secondary Corpora and how I calculated them in order to answer research questions 1a and 1b. Section 4.3 explains my approach to the literacy situation in Morocco in general and in the Jbala region in particular in order to answer research question 2. Finally, Section 4.4 introduces the possible context factors that thus paves the way to answering research question 3.

4.2 The Operationalization of Formulaicity

4.2.1 The Definition and Detection of Formulas in the Poetic Text

According to the definition formulated by Parry, the term formula means 'a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea' (Parry 1930: 80). Since Parry proposed this definition based on the material of texts presumably created by Homer, i.e., by one person, he did not find it necessary to mention specific details, important for understanding formulaicity as applied to a certain genre, i.e., poetry, created and performed by a community of people. Following Parry's method of identifying formula, registering in the text a similar 'group of words' at least twice, I proceeded in the case of the Jbala tradition, from the idea that formulaic expressions must indeed be found at least twice, but I added another condition to it: such lines should be found in the texts of at least two different poets. Adhering to this condition eliminates the possibility that someone's individual poetic style is mistakenly classified as a formula. My understanding of formula is thus different in this regard from the one shared by cognitive linguists, who, being interested in the mental representation of the individual speaker, might accept that the individual can have his own personal set of formulas (Dąbrowska 2012). In the field of cognitive linguistics formulas are seen as part of an utterance, and therefore defining the boundaries of a formula is often difficult, especially in spontaneous speech (Dąbrowska 2012), but it is not that complicated in poetry, due to specifics that are typical of poetic language. For quite some time it has been common opinion that the minimal length of a formula in oral European poetry, as defined by Parry, is a half-line. With time, however, Lord suggested that, since singers do not think and compose their texts in terms of half-lines but rather in terms of clauses or sentences, the length of formulas can be from one line to much greater pieces (Lord 1995: 122). In classical Arabic poetry, where the meter and rhyme are of crucial importance (Monroe 1972: 28-29; Zwettler 1978: 44-45), the minimal length of a for-

mula should also be no less than a hemistich or half-line, since, 'the oral poet uses pre-existent formulas to create meter' (Monroe 1972: 35). In the context of the Jbala material, which is also in Arabic but is structurally quite different from the Arabic Classics, the minimal length of a formula is usually one line, while the maximum length can be four lines.

An important part of understanding formulaicity is to know the difference between formulas in everyday speech and in poetry. Today, many linguists see formulas as building blocks, that are used together with novel creations to construct an utterance. Formulas can either be entirely formulaic or they can contain open slots, i.e., room for non-formulaic filling (Wray 2005: 31-32). Generally speaking, this understanding of formulaicity coincides with how formula is understood in the field of oral poetry (see Section 2.4), however, there are also some differences. In the case of poetry, this understanding of formulaicity can be applied only to a certain degree, for the following reasons. Unlike everyday speech, poetry, as a genre, has a lot of formal requirements and rules to follow. In the particular tradition of the Jbala, the poetic text should be restricted by (1) a certain number of syllables per line, six in average, and (2) the rhyme, which is also supposed to be maintained throughout the text. Even though the Jbala poetic tradition is not as strict as the classical Arabic one and incidental irregularities happen here and there, it is the ideal a Jbala poet should seek to achieve (see Section 3.5). All of this means that in poetry formula is much more powerful than in everyday speech, because, unlike in everyday speech, the set of conditions the poet has to adhere to does not leave him a lot of space to maneuver. The lines below (examples (12) and (13)) illustrate such formulaic variation:

(12) wa-ṭalɛ u njuum l-Qibla
The stars of the Qibla have appeared,
haadi muuraa haadi
One after another
neṭlub siidii rabbii
I am asking you, my Lord and Master,
yufii lii muraadi
To make my dream come true (Appendix I, ML 1: 51-54);

(13) ṭalɛuu njuum el-Qibla
The stars of the Qibla have appeared,
haadi muuraa haadi
One after another
ṭ-ṭaalba rabbi l-ɛaali
I am asking you my Lord, the Exalted,

yeqḍii lii muraadi
To help me to realize my dream (Appendix I, LL2 13: 5-8)

It is clear that the first two lines are almost identical, with the exception of the conjunction *wa-* - 'and', whereas the last two are slightly different syntactically and lexically. In each of these two examples, however, the singer is bound by the number of syllables (6 or 7), rhyme (ABAB) and semantics – the poet is asking his Lord to help him fulfill his dreams.

One might suggest that, since the Jbala songs are always accompanied by music, which plays a very important role in the tradition, it would not be a problem to stretch or plug in missing or extra syllables. I can, however, agree with this argument only to a certain extent. Even though musical accompaniment is of great importance indeed, it does not add as much flexibility as might appear. Examples (14), (15) and (16) demonstrate that:

(14) raani f raas el-ḥaanuut – 'Here I am in the store'

(15) raani f raas en-naxla – 'Here I am sitting on the top of the palm tree'

(16) raani f raas el-ɛanSAr – 'Here I am at the water spring'
(Appendix III, Table A.III.2, no 1)

The above examples show that the singer is restricted by the number of syllables left for him, three to be exact. Based on the material used for this research, I would suggest that the minimal number is two, with the possibility of stretching one of the vowels and thus creating an extra syllable. It is however hard to imagine that four or five extra syllables can be added this way.

4.2.2 Types of Formulaicity

Based on the foregoing and in order to distinguish formulaic from non-formulaic text, I distinguish two types of formulaicity, i.e, formulaic lines (Type 1) and lines with 'formulaic elements' (Type 2). Type 1 embodies four subtypes of formulaic lines, i.e.: repetitions (Type 1.1); syntactic formulas (Type 1.2); formulaic system (Type 1.3); and parallelisms (Type 1.4). In what follows I discuss the characteristics of the above types of formulaicity. Table 4.1 presents two traditional types of formulaicity and their subtypes used for finding formulas in the poetic text.

Table 4.1: Traditional types of formulaicity

Type 1		Type 2
Formulaic lines		Lines with 'formulaic elements'
Subtype 1.1	Repetitions	No subtypes
Subtype 1.2	Syntactic formulas	
Subtype 1.3	Formulaic system	
Subtype 1.4	Parallelism	

Type 1: Formulaic Lines

Type 1.1: Repetitions

Repetitions are verbatim or near verbatim repetitions that 'can and do vary in length from two or three words to a whole hemistich or even a whole line' (Monroe 1972: 15). Such repetitions abound in the poetic texts of the Jbala poets. For instance, compare examples (17) and (18), which are two versions of the same formula that occur in the corpus, where lines are almost identical and differ in one word only (17: 'men' and 18: 'women') (Appendix III, Table A.III. 2, no 8):

(17) wa-maa Buu ḥlaal aa Buu ḥlaal
And here is Bu ḥlal, ah Bu ḥlal
wa-maa Buu ḥlaal be r-riiba
And here is Bu ḥlal in ruins
wa-xurjuu mennu l-rijaal
The men abandoned it
wa-xallaw fii l-hiiba
And left their fears in it (Appendix I, LL2 16: 8-11, LL2 17: 18-21)

(18) wa-maa Buu ḥlaal aa Buu ḥlaal
And here is Bu ḥlal, ah, Bu ḥlal
wa-maa Buu ḥlaal be r-riiba
And here is Bu ḥlal in ruins
wa-xurjuu mennu l-ɛaaylaat
The women have abandoned it
wa-xallaw fii l-hiiba
And left fear in it (Appendix I, LL1 10: 29-32, LL1 11: 29-32)

To paraphrase Parry's definition of formula discussed in Sections 2.1 and 4.2.1, formulaic lines must be metrically identical. This rule can be applied to the Jbala tradition with a restriction, though. A Jbala poetic text does not

exist without melody. Often the amount of syllables per poetic line is shortened or extended only because the melodical pattern and the rhythm tell the singer to do so. The most common solution singers resort to when they wish to extend/shorten the line, is to add/omit a conjunction *wa-* - 'and' or insert/omit exclamation particles like *yaa* - 'oh' and *aa* - 'ah', where syntactically possible. Hence, a mere difference in one or two syllables, on the condition that the other criteria apply, is not considered enough to disqualify a line as not involving repetition. Examples (19) and (20) show how two, by and large, identical formulaic phrases can have different numbers of syllables if the melody and rhythm require it (Appendix III, Table A.III. 2, no 4):

(19) wa-l-jliilba l-kaḥla
And this black jellaaba
beyna druub yešaalii
Is hanging around between narrow streets
xarju wlaad de-l-ḥwiima
As guys from [our] quarter went out,
kullha tquul dyaali
Each one is saying: 'it is mine!' (Appendix I, LL2 13: 13-16)

(20) aa wa-maa l-jlilba l-kaḥla
'Ah and here is this black jellaaba
be d-druub yešaali
Is hanging around narrow streets
wa-xurjuu wlaad el-ḥwiima
And as guys from [our] quarter went out,
kullha tquul dyaali
Each one is saying: 'it is mine!' (Appendix I, AL 26: 27-30)

Type 1.2: Syntactic formula

The concept of 'structural' or 'syntactic formula' was introduced by Monroe (1972) and later developed by Zwettler (1978). 'Structural formulas' are cases, where lines with different words can be similar rhythmically while having nothing in common semantically, which is possible due to the root system of the Arabic language (Monroe 1972: 20). The root system that Arabic shares with other Semitic languages implies that each word, except for some function words, is derived from the root, which consists of three (rarely of two or four) consonants in a fixed order. There is a very strict set of rules that allows building new words in any grammatical category using this root by changing the vowel, and by adding prefixes, suffixes and infixes. Therefore, an Arabic word can be characterized by a fairly limited number of syllables and rhythmical patterns. Furthermore, word order in the Arabic

sentence is quite strict and leaves very little freedom for the speaker. In the Jbala poetry such formulas are built on the principle of using the same function words within the sentence, while the content words will be different. Here, to avoid further confusion, I use for this type of formulas the term 'syntactic', introduced by Zwettler (1978: 55). Examples (21) and (22) and (23), (24) and (25) demonstrate such 'syntactic formulas' that occur in the corpus (Appendix III, Table A.III.2, no 1) and show how semantically non-linked phrases can have an identical syntactic structure because of the repeated use of function words and the strictness of the word order:

(21) wa-diik el-bwiibar de n-naar
This samovar' (Appendix I, ML 1: 39)

(22) diik l-blaad de z-zaytuun
This country of olives' (Appendix I, AA 22: 8)

(23) maa beyn ḍ-ḍhuur wa-l-ɛaSar
From noon to evening (Appendix I, LL2 12: 12)

(24) wa-beyna duwaar wa-diyar
And between the village and houses (Appendix I, LL2 12: 21, LL2 17: 10, AL 26: 56)

(25) wa-beyn el-Fes wa Ghzaawa;
And between Fes and Ghzawa (Appendix I, LL2 17: 15)

Type 1.3: Formulaic system

Sometimes what seems to be a four-line formula can be divided into several parts, each of which is used as a separate formula or as part of one. This phenomenon, referred to as 'formulaic system', was first applied to pre-Islamic Arabic poetry by Monroe (1972: 17) and later on, though with some criticism, accepted by Zwettler as applicable to Arabic poetry (Zwettler 1978: 47). Examples occur very extensively throughout the corpus. Examples (26), (27), (28) and (29) demonstrate how a formula made up of several lines can be split into parts (Appendix III, Table A.III.2, no 15):

(26) aa wa-ila lqiitu ḥabiibi
If you meet my sweetheart,
quuluu alla yesaameḥ
Tell him that God will forgive him (Appendix I, LL1 6: 11-12)

(27) wa-ila mšaa li ḥabiibii
And if my sweetheart leaves me,
syaadii wa-limen niškii
To whom can I complain, people? (Appendix I, LL1 8: 5-6)

(28) lilla yaa muul ṭunubiil
Please, you, car-driver,
šmen e-mdiina raayaḥ
Which city you are heading for?
wa-ila lqiituu ḥabiibii
If you meet my sweetheart,
quuluu alla yesaamaḥ
Tell him that God will forgive him (Appendix I, LL1 8: 11-14)

(29) aa yaa ḥammaar ez-zeyt
Oh, you, who transports olive oil
kaan le l-mdiina raayeḥ
He was heading for city,
ddi slaami l ḥbiibi
Pass my regards to my sweetheart,
wa-qul lu lla yesaameḥ
Tell him God will forgive him (Appendix I, B 10: 1)

The historically older formula from example (29) that I have found in Biarnay (1924) sounds quite similar to the one from example (28) and together they might be classified as near verbatim repetitions. However, the text of the formula from example (26) is identical to the last two lines of the formula in example (28), and the first line of the formula from example (28) is syntactically identical to the first line of the formula from example (26). Needless to say, the second line of the formula in example (27) occurs throughout numerous Jbala songs.

Type 1.4: Parallellisms

The final subtype of formulaicity results when identical ideas or themes are verbalized in different ways. This term was introduced by Lord (1986: 483) and described as a typical example of formulaicity as applied to oral poetry. Monroe (1972) and Zwettler (1978), however, did not use this category for their work with formulas in the Arabic text. Following Lord, I decided to apply this category to my material because it contains instances of using it. Use of parallelism can be seen in examples (30) and (31), where the idea that a certain tribe is so notorious and famous that even the four caliphs belonged to it, and were buried in its territory, is verbalized in two different ways (Appendix III, Table A.III. 2, no 26):

(30) <u>blaadi yaa Bni Zerwaal</u>
My country, oh, Beni Zerwal
<u>hya qbiila d-el-xulafaa</u>
It is the tribe of the caliphs

wa-maa ila xfaat ɛaleykum
And if you meet them,
be l-xayraat maɛruufa
They are well known for their good deeds (Appendix I, LL1 10: 17-20)

(31) arbaɛ a de-l-xulafaa
The four caliphs
kullhum fe Bni Zerwaal
All of them in Bni Zerwal (Appendix I, ML 1: 13-14)

Type 2: Lines with 'formulaic elements'

Contrasting with 'formulaic lines' is the second type of formula lines with 'formulaic elements' (Type 2), or lines that are not fully formulaic in the classical, non-linguistic understanding of what a formula is (see the beginning of Section 4.2.1 for details). This term was introduced by Zwettler (1978: 56) in order to classify separate words in Classical Arabic poetry that repeatedly occur in the same metrical position in the line (Zwettler 1978: 56). Although Zwettler emphasized, that including or excluding such words from a formulaic corpus will not significantly distort the final results (Zwettler 1978: 57), I still decided to separate them into a type of their own. I have done that for two reasons: (1) because Classical Arabic poetry analyzed by Zwettler is substantially different from the Jbala poetry, and (2) because there has not been any thorough research that actually shows that these 'formulaic elements' are indeed of no importance and, hence, need not be taken into consideration. In the Jbala tradition I have found three such 'formulaic elements':

(1) *wa-maa* or just *maa* always occurs at the beginning of a line. In standard Arabic and dialectal Arabic, including Moroccan Arabic, it can have two general meanings: (1) a demonstrative, similar to English '[and] here' (examples (32) and (33)) and (2) a negation particle, which sometimes can be translated as a preposed 'no' in English (example (34)). Sometimes, however, it is difficult to translate it properly into English because this particle seems to have no semantical or grammatical role in the sentence and, hence, inserting its translation in the English text will make it difficult for understanding. Example (32) is case in point, while examples (33) and (34) illustrate the situations, where translation of *wa-maa*/*maa* makes perfect sense:

(32) wa-maa ila wṣelt n timm
If you arrived there (Appendix I, ML 1: 29)

(33) wa-maa n-naḍra f ujaakum
Here, I look at your faces (Appendix I, ML 1: 4)

(34) maana yaa f daari
No, I am not at my home (Appendix I, LL1 9: 3)

(2) The vocative particle *yaa* - 'oh', which is sometimes used with the conjunction *wa-* - '[and] oh', (example (35)).

(35) wa-yaa 'aawniinii be-rḍaak
[And oh,] Help me with your blessing (Appendix I, LL1 7: 7)

(3) Its synonyms *wa-aa* or just *aa* - '[and] ah' (example (36)) also occur only at the beginning of a line. Although very popular in Arabic poetry, these exclamations can often be omitted in the English translation:

(36) aa l-mešmuum dyaali
Ah my bouquet (Appendix I, ML 4: 19)

While some lines in this corpus that start with 'formulaic elements' only share the beginning, i.e., their texts do not have anything formulaic except for these 'elements', others are fully formulaic. Such these lines from example (37) occur four times in the texts by four different poets and, hence, can be classified as repetitions (Type 1.1):

(37) wa-maa Buu ḥlaal aa Buu ḥlaal
And here is Bu ḥlal, ah Bu ḥlal
wa-maa Buu ḥlaal be r-riiba
And here is Bu ḥlal in ruins (Appendix I, LL2 16: 8-11, LL2 17: 18-21, LL1 10: 29-32, LL1 11: 29-32)

Idioms

An important final topic that needs to be discussed to give the reader a better understanding of how formulas in Arabic poetry should be assessed is idioms. Although the general understanding of formulaic language in poetry is that formulaic vocabulary primarily consists of stock poetic lines (Lord 1960: 30, 36), I would suggest that an idiom from everyday speech can very well play the role of a formula as well for the following reasons:

1 An idiom is a fixed, 'ready to use' expression. On the one hand it does not leave a poet any space for creativity, but on the other hand, it can be very useful for a poet thanks to its 'readiness' and recognizability by the audience, i.e., for the same reasons why poetic formulas are useful.

2 An idiom has a fixed number of syllables and a fixed ending, which is very handy for a poet, who is bound to a fairly large degree by the poetic

structure of the text, i.e., a certain number of syllables per line, and rhyme.

3 In Arabic, an idiom/proverb almost always has a certain rhythmical pattern, rhyme and assonance (Westermarck 1930: 26-30), which is also of use in poetry.

At the same time, I would suggest that, while in linguistics an expression is seen as a formulaic utterance if it has frequent occurrence in human speech and/or has non-compositional meaning (Wray 2005: 56-57), this cannot be applied in poetic analysis. Not every idiom seen in a poetic text should be classified as a formula. In fact only those idioms are considered formulaic that repeatedly occur in different texts, preferably by different authors. Theoretically speaking, I would classify as formulaic any recurring expression from everyday speech, such as idiom, proverb, stock phrase, collocation, just like linguists do (Wray 2005; Kuiper 2000), on the condition that this expression also recurs in poetic texts within a certain poetic genre.

Examples (38) and (39) contain idioms found in the corpus that can be classified as formulas:

(38) šay illa haa-l-waali
[Know] this saint is highly respected (Appendix III, Table A.III.2, no 31)

(39) laa yimma laa baaba
Neither Mother, nor Father (Appendix III, Table A.III.2, no 32)

In its short form, *šay illa/šey illa* can be found in several dictionaries of Moroccan Arabic, for instance Harrell (1964: 150), and it is usually used as an attribute of a saint. Typically, one would expect a name or an epithet to precede or follow this idiom. Indeed, the corpus contains such lines (examples (40), (41) and (42)):

(40) šay illa haa-l-waali
[Know] this saint is highly respected,
Siidii ɛAbdelwariith
Sidi Abdelwarit (Appendix I, ML (1 :10-11))

(41) wa-siidii Ḥmiid Ben Daḥmaan
And Sidi Hmid Ben Dahman
wa-maa ḥta ila qeddaamu
And if [you are] near him [his shrine],
šey illa haa-l-waalii
[Know] this saint is highly respected (Appendix I, ML 1: 12-14)

(42) wa-Muulaay ɛAbdessalaam
Mulay Abdessalam,
šay illa haa-l-waalii
[Know] this saint is highly respected (Appendix I, LL2 14: CH 3-4)

Examples (43) and (44) also contain an idiom that is widely known throughout the country. It is usually used to emphasize that someone is an orphan or very vulnerable in the sense that he has no one to turn to for help and protection. During my trips to Morocco I heard it plenty of times. In the corpus this idiom occurs two times in texts by different singers:

(43) ɛala men ɛazziit ana
Who will pity me?
laa yimma laa baabaa
Neither Mother, nor Father (Appendix I, LL1 6: CH 1-2)

(44) yaa ṭuyuur el-ghaaba
Oh, forest birds!
laa yimma laa baabaa
Neither Mother, nor Father (Appendix I, AA 19: CH, 1-2)

The following example, on the other hand, illustrates a case where an idiom should not be classified as a formula in poetry. The phrase *laa ḥawli lla* - 'There is no power except with God' (Appendix I, ML 1: CH 6: 1) is a dialectal version of the Arabic idiomatic expression famous throughout the Islamic World *laa ḥawli wa-laa quwwata illa bi lla* - 'There is no power or strength except with God'. This expression, which can often be heard in everyday speech, occurs in the corpus only once and, hence, cannot be regarded as a poetic formula.

4.2.3 The Classification of Formulas

The traditional classification discussed in the preceding Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 provides a good idea of what formulas are. The classification applied is very effective for detecting formulas in the text. It has, however, some drawbacks. When I first tried to calculate the number of formulas in the poetic texts using this classification, I soon realized that the two major types and the four subtypes of type 1 often overlap, so that the calculation process becomes very complicated. Example (45), (46) and (47) illustrate the problem:

(45) aa wa-maa ṣlaa ɛala Mḥammed
Ah and here is the blessing to Muhammed
aa wa-maa nṣallii mɛakum
Ah and here I am praying with you

aa wa-zuyaar rasuul alla
Ah pilgrims to the shrine of the Prophet of God!
aa wa-ɛabbiwna fe-ḥmaakum
Ah take us under your protection! (Appendix I, LL 2 17: 1-4, LL1 11: 5-8)

(46) zuyaar rasuul allah
Pilgrims to the shrine of the Prophet of God!
wa-ɛabbiwna f ḥmaakum
Take us under your protection! (Appendix I, LL2 16: 2-3)

(47) aa wa-ila rḍiitu biiya
And if you are happy with me,
aa wa-maa ḥna ṭaalbiin ḥmaakum
We are here, asking for your protection (Appendix I, MA 24: 3-4)

These three formulaic excerpts fall into three categories at the same time. According to the traditional classification discussed above, they can be classified as: (1) repetition (Type 1.1), because the lines from example (45) are found in two songs that belong to two different singers, Lahcen Laaroussi and Latifa Laaroussia; (2) parallelism (Type 1.4), because the phrase [*aa*] *wa-ɛabbiwna f ḥmaakum* - '[Ah] take us under your protection!' (examples (45) and (46)) is semantically parallel to *aa wa-maa ḥna ṭaalbiin ḥmaakum* - 'We are here, asking for your protection' (example (47)); (3) formulaic system (Type 1.3), because example (46) is an almost identical but shortened version of example (45), and the last line in example (47) semantically repeats the last lines of examples (45) and (46).

Thus, the suggested classification cannot completely satisfy the first research question posed in the thesis: What is the general picture of formulaicity in the Jbala poetry? At the same time, my formulaic analysis, which is used only for detecting formulas in Jbala poetry and calculating their level of formulaicity, does not focus on their structure and on classification issues. To ease the process of calculating for further analysis and, at the same time, to make it easier for the reader to see and understand formulas, I have decided first to detect formulas in the text using the classification described in Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 and then re-group them based on the role they play in building the text. Thereby, I decided to use a simpler classification that, however, satisfies the primary need of my analysis: it allows me to register all formulas that occur in the texts, the character of their occurrence, the possible variations, and the place of occurrence. This also gives enough information to understand how formulaic the texts are because this classification allows me to calculate the proportion between formulaic and non-formulaic lines in the poetry of each of the four poets. All formulas are there-

fore classified into two groups: structuring formulas (Group 1) and content formulas (Group 2). Exception is made for lines with 'formulaic elements' (or Type 2) in the cases where, where the poetic lines are non-formulaic and only start with a 'formulaic element', i.e., when type 'formulaic elements' does not overlap with any other types of formulas described in the beginning of this chapter. Groups 1 and 2 are discussed in what follows. Table 4.2 presents the new classification of formulaicity used in this research to accurately calculate proportion of formulaic text to non-formulaic.

Table 4.2: Classification of formulas used in this research

Type 1		Type 2
Formulaic lines		Lines with 'formulaic elements'
Group 1	Structuring formulas	
Group 2	Content formulas	

Group 1: Structuring Formulas

Under 'structuring formulas' I understand those expressions that contribute to forming the structure of a song, i.e., they are usually used as the traditional beginning, or chorus, or maybe just an exclamation that is expected to be inserted in the song of a certain genre. For instance, the following lines from example (48) can only occur at the beginning of an *ayta* but never in the middle or the end of the text, i.e., they play the role of an instrument that creates the structure of a song:

(48) aa bismilla aa bdiina
In the name of God we begin
wa-ɛala n-nbi ṣalliina
And we blessed the Prophet
wa-seyyidna Mḥammed
Our Master Muhammed
wa-huwa šaafeɛ fiina
He is our patron (Appendix I, LL1 10: 1-4, LL1 11: 1-4)

Similarly, the formulaic line from example (49) can only be used as the chorus in an *ayta* or an *ughniya*:

(49) aa Šaama wa-raaḥ el-leyl
Ah Shama, the night is over! (Appendix I, LL2 16: CH 1, LL2 17: CH 3: 1, MG 23: CH 2: 1, MA 24: CH 3: 1)

Group 2: Content Formulas

Content formulas are formulas that form the content of a text, i.e., they are used throughout the text, as opposed to the 'structuring formulas'. Content formulas can even be used in both stanzas and choruses: for instance, this is the case for the two following formulaic lines, where (50) is used in the stanza and (51) in used in the chorus:

(50) yaa wa-naṭlub rabbi l-ɛaali
And I am asking [a favor] from my Lord, the Exalted! (Appendix I, LL1 6: 3)

(51) šekwa n rabbi l-ɛaali
I complain to my Lord, the Exalted! (Appendix I, LL2 15: CH, 2)

The examples below show how by keeping the structure and general meaning of the phrase and changing the name of the town and its adjective (examples (52), (53) and (55) from *green Chefchaouen* to *high Tangier* or simply replacing the name of the town by a noun (example (54)), i.e., from *green Chefchaouen* or *high Tangier* to *high roof*, different singers manage to use the same formula the way it suits best the content of their songs. Similarly, examples (53) and (55) illustrate how by playing with the description of Tangier ((53) *l-ɛaalya be swaariiha* – (55) *l-ɛaalya b sarja* – (53) *High with its walls* – (55) *High and* [*illuminated with*] *bright lights!*) the singers manage to fit this description into the context:

(52) wa-maa š-Šaawen yaa l-xaḍraa
And here is Chefchaouen, oh, the green
wa-beyn el-jbaal mermiiya
It is scattered between the mountains,
wa-baɛaḍ er-rjaal mjuuja
Some (of its) men are married,
wa-baɛaḍ minhaa mebliiya
And some of them are womanisers (Appendix I, LL1 10: 21-24)

(53) maa Tanja yaa l-ɛaalya
Here is Tangier, the high
maa hiya l-ɛaalya be swaariiha
here it is high with its walls!
wa-bellaghuu slaam le Teṭwaan
Pass my greetings to Tetouan
hiya wa-mwaaliiha
And its people (Appendix I, AL 26: 15-18)

(54) yaa ṣṭeyyiḥ el-ɛaali
Oh, high roof!
yaa meršuuš be n-niiila
Covered by anilyn die!
lli bgha banaat el-yooma
Today if you want to get girls,
yemšii lum be l-ḥiila
You have to play tricks (Appendix I, LL2 15: 13-16)

(55) aa wa-lalla Tanja ɛaalya
Ah Lalla Tangier is high
aa wa-l-ɛaalya b sarja
High and [illuminated with] bright lights!
wa-ila jaa ḥabiibi
If my sweetheart comes back to me,
aa wa-qalbi la-yetfajja
My heart will be filled with with joy (Appendix I, RO 25: 13-16)

All instances of the usage of formulas and 'formulaic elements' are placed in three separate tables in Appendix III, where Table A.III.1 contains structural formulas (Group 1), Table A.III.2 content formulas (Group 2) and Table A.III.3 contains all otherwise non-formulaic lines that start with 'formulaic elements'. I also included in Tables A.III.1 and A.III.2 a separate column with traditional classification of formulas, introduced in this chapter. Abbreviations used: repetition – R (Type 1.1), syntactic formula – S (Type 1.2), formulaic system – FS (Type 1.3), parallelism – P (Type 1.4).

4.2.4 Level of Formulaicity

In the classic works on poetic formulas the preferred term for measuring the level of formulaicity in the text was 'formulaic density'. I decided not to use the term 'formulaic density' because initially it was used to prove the oral origin of certain literary creations (Lord 1986: 478-479), while I needed a term for purely instrumental purposes, an indication of the ratio of formulaic lines to the total number of lines in a text. That is why I decided to adopt a different term – 'level of formulaicity'. Since no general rules have been set in the linguistic or literature fields, because each type of researchers sets different goals and evaluates the received results differently (Wray 2012), I used my own standard: if the percentage of formulaic lines in the text is 70% or higher, I consider the text to have a high level of formulaicity. If the percentage of formulaic lines fluctuates between 30% and 70%, I consider it a text with a moderate level of formulaicity. If the figure is less than 30% but more than 0%, I consider it having a low level of formulaicity. Texts

with no formulas are classified as non-formulaic. The percentage of formulaic and non-formulaic lines is calculated used the method of proportion. For instance, if the total amount of lines in a given song is 33 lines, of which 29 lines are formulaic and 4 lines non-formulaic, the level of formulaicity is 87,8%. The calculation is done according the arithmetic formula below:

33: 29 = 100: X; then: (29x100): 33 = X; X= 87,8%

In order to answer my first research question 1.a (What is the general picture of formulaicity in the songs of each of the four singers participating in this study?) and 1.b (What is the general picture of formulaicity in the Jbala poetry?) I need to calculate the statistics of formulaicity in the poetic texts under investigation. For the above reason, I calculate together 'structuring' (Group 1) and 'content' (Group 2) formulas, i.e., fully formulaic lines (Section 4.2.2), while lines that start with 'formulaic elements' but do not have any other formulaic features (Section 4.2.1; Type 2 in the traditional classification) are calculated separately.

4.3 Literacy

Although the Theory of the Great Divide remains fairly popular not only in the mass media but also among scholars, I go with the general line of understanding of literacy offered by Street (1984) and his followers, and Blommaert (2008) (see Section 2.5.2), for the following reasons. First of all, as will be shown in Chapter 5, the Jbala singers do not master what Blommaert calls 'elite' and Street 'dominant' literacy, they are showing rather 'vernacular' or 'grassroots' literacy. This is not only the case with these particular Jbala singers: this is generally the situation with the literacy skills possessed by a fairly large number of modern Moroccans who did not receive any proper formal education. Indeed, according to UNICEF, only 39% of Moroccan male children and 36% of Moroccan female children were attending secondary school in 2007-2011.[1] The same source, however, indicated that the literacy rate of the Moroccan youth of the same age category and for the time period of time was 87% and 72% for boys and girls respectively. In Chapter 2, I have mentioned the negative opinion of Laroui (2010) on the role of Standard Arabic in modern Moroccan society (see Section 2.5.3). If things became so complicated for the Moroccan elites, who find it difficult and not worthy to write in Standard Arabic, should one be strict while facing poor literacy skills (as applied to Standard Arabic) among the Jbala poets? Where would they polish and use Standard Arabic and what audi-

[1] *http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/morocco_statistics.html*

ence would accept and understand it? Secondly, this type of literacy also shares some characteristics with grassroots or non-elite literacy in the Congo, described by Blommaert in order to better define it (see Section 2.5.4). This characteristics are (1) 'vernacular language varieties being used in writing', since Jbala songs are always composed in a local variety of Moroccan Arabic (see Table 3.1 in Chapter 3), and (2) 'constrained mobility' (Blommaert 2008: 7), since the texts of Jbala songs are valued and understood mostly by an audience of Jbala origin, whether in Morocco or abroad. Jbala texts, however, cannot be said to suffer from 'hetero-graphy', i.e., non-conformity with orthographic norms, since, as discussed in Section 5.2.3, since Moroccan Arabic, in which the Jbala songs are always composed, does not have any generally established orthographic norms. These songs also cannot be characterized as 'distant genres' (Blommaert 2008: 7), i.e., they are not something 'foreign' to the singers, something they do not fully understand and master. Jbala songs represent an independent, oral genre, known mostly in the Jbala area, and locals are the only experts of it. These texts also cannot be characterized by 'partial insertion in knowledge economies': they do 'construct texts on the basis of locally available knowledge resources' such as asking and listening instead of reading (Blommaert 2008: 7) but they do so because this is what vernacular poetry is usually about.

Measuring someone's literacy skills is a fairly challenging task. Heath (1992) emphasizes that literacy is a social condition; she notes that it is tested or measured through the private activities of individuals. Since the mid-20th century, levels of literacy for broad social groups have been assessed using standardized measures. The ability to sign one's name on a written document is one such test of functional literacy. The difficulty in measuring literacy is complicated today by increasing societal demands to be literate in different ways (Crystal 1992), such as economic, scientific, or computer literacy. However, even today researchers agree that an accurate method to measure literacy has not been developed. This is especially true for developing countries that keep providing 'grossly inaccurate' and 'virtually meaningless' statistical data on literacy (Blake & Blake 2002: 19).

While deciding whether each of the four singers is literate or not, I apply, as indicated in Section 2.6, UNESCO's definition of literacy: the ability to fluently interpret 'printed and written materials associated with varying contexts and to participate fully in their community and wider society' (UNESCO 2004: 13). At the same time, I regard the ability to be fluent in reading, writing and understanding written text in Moroccan Arabic and not in Standard Arabic as sufficient proof of literacy. Fluency in reading Moroccan Arabic but experiencing difficulties in writing, or vice versa, or, in other words, inability to apply literacy skills in everyday life is regarded as semi-

literacy (UNESCO 1993: 3). Absolute inability to read, write and understand what is written in Moroccan Arabic is considered a sign of illiteracy. Furthermore, I would presume that poor or no skills in writing and reading in Standard Arabic, as well as lack of proper formal education, should not be considered as proof of illiteracy of the singers and poets from the Jbala region. Since the ability to write in Moroccan Arabic allows Jbala singers to fluently interpret and use 'printed and written materials associated with varying contexts and to participate fully in their community and wider society' as defined by UNESCO (2004: 13), I will consider them literate.

The case of one of the four singers, Latifa Laaroussia, may serve to illustrate the above reasoning: Latifa, who only attended primary school, can write her name, but can she be considered literate, even functionally literate? From the interview held with Latifa, (LL2: 1, 2010), it is clear that she and her family were not comfortable with the fact that she finds it difficult to write in Arabic, i.e., she is not fluent in writing Arabic letters. It is possible that she does not need this skill back in Spain, where she lives now, but she definitely needs it each time she comes back home to Morocco. She feels uncomfortable and this does not allow her to function properly in her everyday and professional life (for instance, when reading contracts). In connection to this case, I would like to emphasize that in this research I only take in consideration Latifa's writing and reading skills in Moroccan Arabic, which is her native language and which is extensively used by Moroccans as a language of writing, even though Moroccan Arabic does not have officially established rules (see Section 2.5.3). Latifa's fluency in reading and writing in Spanish is not taken in consideration for the following reasons: (1) I do not master Spanish language and, hence, cannot judge if Latifa is fully competent in Spanish orthography and grammar; (2) this research focuses on the poetic texts created in Moroccan Arabic, not in Spanish, so Latifa's ability to write and read in Spanish cannot be considered relevant, and (3) from Latifa's biography it is already obvious that she has been exposed to literacy practices at least at school, she is familiar with the concept of reading and writing and, under no circumstances, can be considered fully illiterate.

An interesting case as well is Mohammed Laaroussi, who successfully applied the literacy skills he had received in the Qur'anic school or *kuttab* to the needs and requirements of his everyday life. I would agree with Wagner, whose study shows that attending *kuttab* has numerous benefits even in modern Morocco (Wagner 1993: 48, 132-133, 137). Generally speaking, acquiring literacy skills in the Qur'anic school was even more beneficial for an Arabic speaking individual in the olden, pre- and colonial time, since, despite all the lexical, morphological, and syntactic differences between the language of the Qur'an and any spoken dialect of Arabic, it is still the same

language, sharing the same core grammar, the same core vocabulary, and the same alphabet. Although *kuttabs* did not supply their students with any knowledge of math or the natural sciences, they did allow them to learn how to read and write. It seems that *kuttabs* also encouraged students to improve their memory, since one of their primary tasks was to memorize big chunks of the Qur'an called *hizbs* (*ḥizb*). The literacy skills of the four singers – Mohammed Laaroussi, Lahcen Laaroussi, Latifa Laaroussia and Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi – were assessed on the basis of the interviews I had held with each of them. Information on the interviews can be found in Appendix II, the results of the assessment in Sections 6.4.1-6.4.4.

4.4 Other Factors

The last, third research question is 'What are the contextual factors and conditions that influence the choice of a modern Jbala poet in favor or against the use of formulaic language in his songs?' Therefore, I attempt to find out whether the decision whether or not to use formulaic language is first of all conditioned by the context in which a poet or a musician is going to perform. To answer this question, however, it is necessary to draw an outline of what is meant by context in this research.

In Section 3.4, I have already briefly referred to Caton's words on Yemeni folk poetry, where he says that such material should be analyzed not from the point of the subject but rather from the point of social function (Caton 1990: 45), i.e., within the context it exists. I have also mentioned that the social function of the Jbala songs is undergoing dramatic changes: the primary context is being substituted by a new one. That is, Jbala songs are more and more often performed on occasions other than the traditional tribal events, agricultural festivities, and religious *moussems*. New occasions include performing on a big stage during folklore festivals or at a professional recording studio for production of a TV program, a musical album or a video clip. This new context offers Jbala singers and musicians new experiences due to the wider exposure to other traditions and styles, and new trends in music and performance. It would not be right, however, to presume that until now the Jbala lived in a sort of cultural or social isolation, in fact, there is evidence suggesting that at least as early as in the beginning of the 20th century *jebli* people were fairly well familiar with some poetic traditions from the neighboring areas. Indeed, already in 1918, the French linguist and ethnographer Lévi-Provençal published a text of a religious song he had recorded in the Jbala area in his article 'Un chant populaire religieux du Djebel marocain' (Lévi-Provençal 1918). Structurally and poetically this text bears character-

istics of the literary tradition of Fes and is very different from the typical poetry of the Jbala, such as *ayta* and *ayyuu*. The above observations on innovative contexts are valid for both *ayta* and *ughniya* but to a much lesser degree for *ayyuu*, which is still mostly performed in its 'natural settings' (see Section 3.2.2 for details).

Context is a complex, multidimensional structure, in which separate elements are strongly linked to each other. Below I list contextual components, four in total, I take into consideration in the framework of this study. All information on the contextual factors I use to answer research question 3 was received from the interviews held with the local singers – Mohammed Laaroussi, Lahcen Laaroussi, Latifa Laaroussia and Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi – and sometimes personal observations.

(1) Society and cultural background

As follows from Section 3.2.1, the musical scene in Morocco abounds with a rich variety of genres. Some of these, including the Jbala ones, can be described as traditional, while modern genres often are a blend of Western and Moroccan rhythms and tunes. In the beginning of this section I mentioned that exposure of the *jebli* people to neighboring traditions and genres is not just of recent date, but it has dramatically increased in the recent past. As a result, today a Moroccan musician can choose, in addition to the genres that have always been easy to get acquainted with because of geographical proximity, genres that one can learn about only via TV, radio or internet. A case in point is *sharqi* music, the music from the East Arab countries such as Egypt and Lebanon; another one is Western music such as rock, blues and rap. Access to such a rich array of genres coupled with the norms of the local society is an important component of the modern context for a *jebli* singer. In this research, I consider the combination of the cultural and societal norms and experiences to be an important factor; a local artist bases his choice in favor of the local genre on them, and they help determine the extent to which the songs are performed in traditional novel ways.

(2) Genre

Following many researchers in various fields (e.g., Caton 1990; Wray 2005; Kuiper 1996), I consider genre as a contextual component of crucial importance. It is mainly the genre that imposes requirements on anyone who chooses to create within it. It is important to realize that the genre imposes requirements not only on the artist but also on the audience. It is the artist who creates an artifact and shapes the tastes of the audience, but it is the audience who has certain expectations of the artifact based on the characteristics of the genre.

This is in line with Blommaert's definition of the genre, which he studied in literary and conversational contexts (Section 2.5.2). It is clear that it can very well be applied to the poetico-musical genres of the Jbala as well. According to Blommaert, each genre is defined by the following features: (1) the formal characteristics of communicative events; (2) the expectations they generate and (3) the responsive behavior they suggest (Blommaert 2008: 44).

Indeed, if we regard songs performed by the Jbala singers at a concert or even a recording studio as a communicative event between artist and audience, it will be characterized by a number of genre requirements, i.e., features typical of the genre (1). Eventually, this event will be shaped by both the audience's expectations and the artist's desire to fulfill them or not (2) and, after the event is over, by the audience's reaction to it (3).

Being a very general concept, genre might include a lot of aspects, such as performance, dance, scene, and costumes. In the case of the Jbala tradition, the genre mainly means text, music and performance. These three elements of the genre, as they apply to the Jbala tradition, are discussed below.

(3) Text and music

Text and music are inevitably strongly linked in any musical piece that involves usage of musical instruments and vocal singing of a poetic text, and the Jbala tradition is no exception. Consequently, I regard text and music both as the key components of any Jbala song.

In the previous sections of this chapter, I discussed the characteristics of formulaicity in the Jbala poetry, but it is important to realize that the poetry of the Jbala is always accompanied by music. In fact, with the exception of *ayyuu* (see Section 3.2.2), a Jbala song, i.e., *ayta* and *ughniyas*, is a multipart musical piece (see Section 3.2.2). Music, that is, is of great importance for the Jbala singer and his audience. This lends relevance to the observations on jazz music made by Foster (Foster 2004) (see Section 2.4 for details). I will check whether they can be applied to the poetico-musical tradition of the Jbala. In other words, I also try to determine whether, with respect to the vocal genre (i.e., singing coupled with musical accompaniment), a singer has at his disposal musical as well as lyrical sources of formulaicity that allow him to create his song within a certain tradition. Is it a matter of personal choice whether or not to resort to both sources or use only one?

It is my suggestion that musicians make deliberate choices, both when it comes to their lyrics and to their music. The text published by Lévi-Provençal (1918) that was mentioned at the beginning of this section has more in common with the Fes poetic tradition than with the Jbala one. This suggests that even a hundred years ago, the Jbala did not live in cultural isolation as some researchers claim (Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 143), and were

perfectly able to produce poetry in different styles and, hence, follow poetic traditions other than their own canons.

(4) Performance

The context of the performance may also influence the singers' choice of what to sing and how to do that. The performance may be before a certain audience that anticipates to hear a song in a particular genre, or there may be some other reason why the singer chooses to perform this song and not another one. Also, the performance may be live, e.g., at a wedding, during agricultural work, or for a pilgrimage, or it may be recorded in a studio. The live performance may require the singer to wear special attire, whether authentic traditional or stylized (see Section 3.3.1), use specific musical instruments or make use of invited dancers. Modern recording studios offer other options: usage of professional sound programs, various acoustic effects and the possibility to re-record the song until it satisfies the ears of the singer, his group and the producer.

CHAPTER 5

The Corpus

This chapter starts with an introduction to the corpora that form the base for this research: the Core Corpus and the Secondary Corpus, with its two parts. It justifies the need for having a Secondary Corpus in addition to the Core Corpus. The criteria for selecting the authors and the texts for the Core Corpus are discussed, and the authors are introduced. The Secondary Corpus is described as well, including an explanation of the criteria used for choosing particular texts.

5.1 The Three Corpora

This study is about formulaic language in Jbala songs, and, more specifically, about how, when and why formulas are used in these songs. As already mentioned in Chapter 3, three genres, namely *ayta*, *ayyuu* and *ughniya*, share similar poetic vocabulary and can therefore be united in one corpus. The situation with the second genre, *ayyuu*, requires, however, some clarification. As already mentioned in Section 3.4.2**,** despite all changes happening in the Jbala society today, *ayyuu* has not become a commercial genre. It can be sometimes performed by a professional singer during a concert or any other public event but it still remains to a large degree a 'work song' performed by a group of women, and finding a record of an *ayyuu* for further work on the text is a very difficult task: they just can hardly be found. At the same time, I could not exclude this genre from the research because it is an essential part of the Jbala poetic tradition and, more important in the framework of this research, the texts of *ayyuu* I found in old French sources turned out to have a lot of textual similarities with the texts of modern *ughniyas* and *aytas* (see Section 5.2.2 for details), reason the more to still take a look at the *ayyuu* genre, together with *ayta* and *ughniya*.

The research focuses on the songs of four modern poets and singers: Mohammed Laaroussi (born 1934), Lahcen Laaroussi (born 1959), Latifa Laaroussia (born 1967) and Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi (born 1946), and it is their poetic texts that were taken as the core of this research. While deciding

which songs should be chosen from the quite extensive repertoire of these four singers, I was motivated by the following simple logic. When someone listens often to songs that belong to a certain traditional genre, at some point one cannot help to start noticing some phrases that occur here and there. Sometimes they are fully identical, sometimes they can be more or less different from each other. As is probably already clear to the reader, these phrases are poetic formulas; distinguishing formulas from the rest of the text is the first step towards creating a corpus of formulaic expressions. An attentive listener will also realize that some songs in the repertoire of a performer are practically fully formulaic, while others just have many formulas, others less, and some do not seem to contain any formulaic expressions at all. This is why, while choosing the songs to include in the corpus, I tried, where possible, to make sure that each variety, i.e., fully formulaic, partially formulaic and non-formulaic texts, would be represented in the research. The second necessary condition was the proven authorship for a song, i.e., I had to be certain that the authorship of the chosen song belongs to the singer whose record I used for the research.

In order to show that certain phrases are formulaic, and because of the nature of formulas as repeatedly used segments, I felt it necessary to take a look beyond the songs by the four selected singers. This led me to collect further data, and, hence, to include into the corpus other poetic texts that belong to other Jbala singers and that were performed at other times. Indeed, as was mentioned briefly in Section 4.2.1, there is always a possibility that a certain author has an affection for a certain word or phrase. It would not be easy to say then whether this reoccurring phrase is truly formulaic in Jbala songs or just part of someone's signature style, unless additional material is used. There is a slim chance, however, that an expression that recurs only in texts of the same author is still formulaic because this is how formulaic expressions are obviously born: someone produces a metrically or, maybe, lexically interesting phrase that later gets picked up and used repeatedly by others. Nevertheless, I tried to use for this research other poetic materials containing formulaicity to get answers to the three research questions. This is how I arrived at the idea of creating this Secondary Corpus that would provide extra material for creating a sort of database of formulaic expressions existing in the particular poetic genres of the Jbala. To be more precise, my aim was to create a limited database that would mostly cover formulas found in the songs of the four particular singers; I did not aspire to include all formulas that circulate in this tradition. The songs selected for this Secondary Corpus were therefore chosen on the basis of two criteria: (1) they had to contain phrases similar to the ones found in the songs included in the Core Corpus, to help establish their formulaic nature, and (2) the more such

formulas they contained, the better. The Secondary Corpus consists of songs from two periods: songs collected by and published by French researchers, Biarnay (1924) and Michaux-Bellaire (1911), a hundred years ago. Although their publications did not represent any thorough poetic or linguistic analysis and sometimes suffer from inaccuracy, they considerably enhanced the possibility to verify the formulaic nature of a fair amount of phrases found in the modern songs. Songs from the sixties to nineties of the last century form the other part of the Secondary Corpus. These were originally recorded on cassettes but are still available as electronic recordings.

Thus, this study is based on the Core Corpus, while the Secondary Corpus, which consists of two parts serves the purpose of further verifying the formulaicity of the core material. The material for the entire corpus thus originates from the following sources:

- The Core Corpus consists of songs of four contemporary performers: Mohammed Laaroussi, Lahcen Laaroussi, Latifa Laaroussia and Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi;
- Secondary Corpus I consists of songs by Jbala singers between 1960 and 2000;
- Secondary Corpus II consists of excerpts of Jbala songs, documented by French researchers at the beginning of the 20th century.

The next section provides detailed descriptions of these three sources.

5.2 Core Corpus: The Four Singers

The criteria for choosing the four particular singers and their songs as the focus of this research were as follows. Each of the singers had to be a popular figure, respected by the Jbala audience and acknowledged as a local, *jebli* artist. Adherence to the above condition would prove that the singer belongs to the Jbala tradition, that he creates within it, and has an already established repertoire. Each one should be a living artist, and available for interviews, at least over the phone, so that I could maximally avoid speculating about details of his life and career, literacy skills and the authorship of songs. Finally, it should not be a problem to find the audio or video records of each singer's songs for performing textual analysis. The last condition was the presence in the singer's repertoire of both *ayta* and *ughniya*, as the genres that are performed and recorded by local professional musicians. Although there are several dozens of singers on the modern Jbala musical market, the four artists discussed below matched the criteria best.

I included one or two *aytas* and several *ughniyas* per singer, with the total number of songs conditioned by their length. For instance, I included one *ayta* by Mohammed Laaroussi because it comprises 58 lines, excluding choruses, which, for the Jbala tradition, is a lengthy piece of poetry. Conversely, I included two *aytas* by Latifa Laaroussia, because their verses comprise 11 and 22 lines respectively.

In what follows I present the four singers that participated in my study. Information on their level of literacy is extendedly given in Section 6.4 as this issue relates strongly to giving an answer to the second research question. In the following sections only information is given as to the question whether the four singers went to school.

5.2.1 Mohammed Laaroussi

Mohammed Laaroussi was born in 1934 in the village of Darkul, in the tribe of Bni Darkul, one of the tribes which constitute the tribal confederation of Laxmaas, Tafarant, in the province of Taounate. He studied the art of performing the *ayta* at a very young age in Chefchaouen during colonial times. When he was still a child, Laaroussi was put in prison for singing a song that contained some anti-colonial allusions. He was set free after several months, but received a life-time ban to sing, so that he was able to resume his musical career only after the end of the colonial regime in Morocco in 1956. This singer has learned how to read and write Arabic, using the Arabic alphabet in *kuttab*, or Qur'anic school. Today Laaroussi is considered the best and most prominent singer and composer of the *aytas* and *ughniya*s of modern times. He is often referred to as *fannaan Jbaala*, the artist of the Jbala, or *maḥbuub Jbaala*, beloved by all Jbala people. According to Laaroussi, he has 567 songs in his repertory (ML: 1, 2010). Despite his venerable age Mohammed Laaroussi gives concerts across the country and even abroad, for instance, in Azerbaijan, Turkey, China and Spain, participates in various cultural events and festivals, and is always the most welcomed invited singer and musician at weddings. Laaroussi's repertory is fairly extensive: in the past he used to sing both *shaabi* and *jebli*, including *aytas*, *ughniyas* and even *ayyuu*s; it includes texts composed by Laaroussi himself, as well as by other poets, such

Picture 5.1: Cover of an audio cassette recorded by Mohammed Laaroussi

as the famous masters of *malhun* poetry al-Alami and ar-Risouni (ML: 2, 2010).

For decades his songs have been available for purchase not only in northern Morocco, where Laaroussi's name is known in every household, but throughout the country on LPs, then tapes and recently on CDs and in MP3 format, Laaroussi's concerts have been regularly shown on Moroccan television since the 1960s. Today both his audio and video records can be easily found on YouTube and other internet services. All of these were reasons why Mohammed Laaroussi and his songs were selected for the corpus. The particular songs that were chosen are listed in Table 5.1, which contains information about the songs by Mohammed Laaroussi, used in this research.

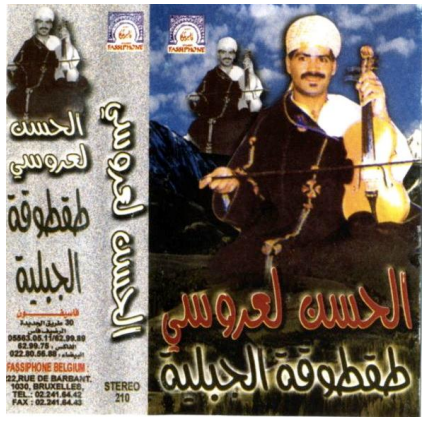
Table 5.1: Songs by Mohammed Laaroussi used in this research

Genre	Title	Translation	Appendix
ayta	*ɛyta Bni Darkuul*	*Ayta of Tribe Bni Darkul*	ML 1, Appendix I
ughniya	*alla yehanniik yaa belaad*	*May God Bless You, my Country*	ML 2, Appendix I
ughniya	*Rḥiimu*	*Rhimu*	ML 3, Appendix I
ughniya	*ana baali mɛa ghzaali*	*My Mind is with my Beloved*	ML 3, Appendix I
ughniya	*ana fellaaḥ*	*I am a Peasant*	ML 3, Appendix I

5.2.2 Lahcen Laaroussi

Lahcen Laaroussi was born in 1959 in the village of Bni Darkuul, located in the territory of the Bni Zerwaal tribe. Lahcen Laaroussi went to primary school, where he received basic education. He learned singing and playing the violin from his famous uncle, Mohammed Laaroussi and started his independent career in 1979, at the age of 20. With time, Lahcen Laaroussi shifted to performance of other genres, especially the northern variety of *shaabi* (*shaɛbi*) or folk popular music. Lahcen Laaroussi has recorded a number of cassettes and CDs with different varieties of Moroccan music. One CD is fully dedicated to Jbala music and is called *Maroc: Taktoka Jabalia*, and was recorded in 1999 in France. His increasing interest in other, non-local, varieties of songs caused relations between him and his uncle to be broken off. As a purist of the Jbala music, his uncle has been accusing him repeatedly of eroding the values and traditions of the Jbala heritage. Never-

theless, Lahcen is quite popular among the younger generations. He may be considered as a Jbala musician of a new formation: pushed by changing requirements of the local and national audience, he has to look for new ways of performing. Depending on what is called for, Lahcen Laaroussi and his group *Majmuuɛat Laḥsen Laɛruusi* 'Lahcen Laaroussi's Group' are able to create and perform anything from all-traditional *aytas* to something very close to *rai* and even *sharqi*. He also experiments with introducing new musical instruments that are not typical of the Jbala music, for instance, cymbals and keyboards, and various acoustic effects.



Picture 5.2: Cover of an audio cassette recorded by Lahcen Laaroussi

The reason why Lahcen Laaroussi and his songs have been included into this research are the following: being a member of the famous Laaroussi family, Lahcen enjoys wide popularity among local audiences, his records are widely available for purchase everywhere from small music stores in northern Morocco to iTunes, and he is often invited to play at local weddings and other important events. The songs that were studied are listed in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Songs by Lahcen Laaroussi used in this research

Genre	Title	Translation	Appendix
ughniya	*ɛala men ɛazziit ana*	*Who will Pity me?*	LL1 6, Appendix I
ughniya	*yimma ṣaabra*	*Patient Mother*	LL1 7, Appendix I
ughniya	*ɛassa*	*Guard*	LL1 8, Appendix I
ughniya	*alla yehanniik yaa baaba*	*May God bless you, my Father!*	LL1 9, Appendix I
ayta	untitled	untitled	LL1 10, Appendix I
ayta	untitled	untitled	LL1 11, Appendix I

5.2.3 Latifa Laaroussia

Latifa Laaroussia, which is her artistic name (her real name is Latifa Rahmuni) was born in 1967 in the village of Gharuuziim, in the province of Chefchaouen. Her origin lies in the Lakhmas tribe. According to Latifa, she learned singing from the radio when she was a little girl: while performing house chores, she used to sing along with the radio that was always on, and with time singing became her profession (LL2: 1, 2010). She started her musical career in the late 1980s and very soon became popular first among her home-folks, who used to invite her to sing at weddings, festivals, and other occasions, and then in whole the Jbala area and even throughout the country. She is regularly invited to participate in national musical festivals such as Imilchil and shown on Moroccan television. Today, Latifa lives in Malaga, Spain, where she moved in 2006. She, however, often visits her family in Morocco and periodically participates in concerts. In total, Latifa Laaroussia recorded eleven albums, eight of them are fully of Latifa's authorship, one contains traditional songs, and one is co-authored with Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi. She also participated in radio recordings for Radio Malaga, Spain. Latifa is the leader of two musical groups, *jawq ɛuššsaaq aṭ-ṭaqṭuuqa al-jabaliiya* - 'Group of Amateurs of Taqtuqa Jabaliya' and *majmuuɛat Laṭiifa Laɛruusiiya* - 'Latifa Laaroussia's Group', located in Malaga and Chefchaouen respectively. She performs mainly Jbala songs but on occasions she also sings *shaabi* and *sharqi*. Latifa Laaroussia performs her own songs as well as songs by others.

Picture 5.3: Latifa Laaroussia and her musical group (courtesy of Mohammed Amin Laaroussi)

Latifa finished only one class of primary school. After she had moved to Spain, she started to attend Spanish courses for emigrants, where she learned how to read and write in Spanish. She has not shown any fluency in

writing and reading in Arabic, but can read and write relatively well in Spanish. I should emphasize here once again that in this research I only take into consideration Latifa's writing and reading skills in Moroccan Arabic, which is her native language and which is extensively used by Moroccans as a language of writing, even though Moroccan Arabic does not have officially established rules (see Section 4.3 for further details).

The reason why Latifa Laaroussia and her songs were chosen for this research are her high popularity among the Jbala audience, the easy access to her records and, also important, the friendly relations with Latifa. Also, to my knowledge, Latifa is the only widely recognized female Jbala singer, who successfully performs *aytas*, which are considered to be a traditional masculine genre. Latifa's older son, Mohammed Laaroussi, who lives in Chefchaouen, has always been available for talking to, and to ask questions to, whether on the language, or the genres, or any other aspect of the Jbala life, and from whom I always received competent and detailed answers.

The songs chosen for this research are listed in Table 5.3. The table contains necessary information about the songs by Latifa Laaroussia, used in this research.

Table 5.3: Songs by Latifa Laaroussia used in this research

Genre	Title	Translation	Appendix
ughniya	*l-waalida*	*My Mother*	LL2 12, Appendix I
ughniya	*ana ɛabd ghzaali*	*I am a Slave of my Sweetheart*	LL2 13, Appendix I
ughniya	*muulaay ɛAbdessalaam*	*Moulay Abdessalam*	LL2 14, Appendix I
ughniya	*ṣghiira wa-maašša f ḥaali*	*[still] Little and [already] Going away!*	LL2 15, Appendix I
ayta	untitled	untitled	LL2 16, Appendix I
ayta	untitled	untitled	LL2 17, Appendix I

5.2.4 Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi

Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi was born in 1946 in Jbel LaHbiib, in a tribe inhabiting areas adjacent to Tangier, where he spent his childhood and started to play music. Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi is the author of over a hundred songs, which he wrote for various Jbala singers, but produced only two cassettes of his own. He is an active promoter of the *ayta* art. al-Andaloussi never went to school, but learned how to read and write Standard Arabic

and, obviously, Moroccan Arabic when he was already an adult. According to his own words, Abdelmalek learned by himself at home so that he could finally read newspapers instead of asking a next door boy for this favor (AA, 2007). Al-Andaloussi spent years in Tangier, where he worked for various theaters. It was this theatrical environment that had a dramatic impact on al-Andaloussi's tastes and literary fondness: he was introduced to the world of European drama, and since then has become an ardent admirer of poetical individualism and Shakespeare's plays (AA, 2007). Today al-Andaloussi still lives in Tangier but together with his musical group *majmuuɛat š-šamaal* - 'Group of the North' he extensively travels throughout the north of the country for concerts, festivals, and cultural events. Abdelmalek has written over a hundred songs, many of which have been given away to others (Mrabet 2012a). He often records songs together with other Jbala singers: for instance, he has an album recorded with Latifa Laaroussia in 2003. While pondering if I should really choose al-Andaloussi for my corpus, over numerous other singers that shine on the stages of the Jbala region, I had a lot of doubts. They mostly came down to the fact that in the course of our conversations, al-Andaloussi was very articulate about his low opinion of the content of the Jbala music, his texts are almost always somewhat different from what one usually hears from a Jbala singer: politics and emigration to Europe have an important place in his lyrics, his poetic vocabulary considerably differs from that of other modern singers. However, who am I to decide whether someone is a real Jbala poet and singer or not? Most of the locals I had discussed this topic with were very certain about the genre in which al-Andaloussi works and often I could hear: ɛ*Abdelmalek raa dyaawlna raa jebli puura wa-ka-yeghanni jebli* - 'Abdelmalek belongs to us, he is a pure Jbala and he [also] sings in the Jbala way'. I was told several times that his vocal talent is not the best and that he should probably stick to being a poet but nobody showed any doubts in identifying him as a Jbala singer and poet. On this basis I decided to include al-Andaloussi's songs into the corpus and analyze them together with the songs of the other three singers.

Picture 5.4: Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi (in the middle) and his group during a break at a recording studio (in Chefchaouen 2007) (picture author)

The songs chosen for this research are listed in Table 5.4. It contains necessary information about the songs by Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi, used in this research.

Table 5.4: Songs by Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi used in this research

Genre	Title	Translation	Appendix
ughniya	*fiin ḥsalti yaa l-wuliid*	*To where Have you Arrived, my Dear?*	AA 18, Appendix I
ughniya	*ṭuyuur el-ghaaba*	*Forest Birds*	AA 19, Appendix I
ughniya	*xaay yaa l-εaziiz*	*My Dear Brother*	AA 20, Appendix I
ughniya	*mulaati Šaama*	*My Dear Shama*	AA 21, Appendix I
ayta	*εayṭa el-Quds*	*Ayta of Jerusalem*	AA 22, Appendix I

5.3 The Secondary Corpus

As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, the reason for creating the Secondary Corpus lies in the necessity to attract additional material to be able to have extra evidence while deciding what is formulaic and what is not in the Core Corpus. The Jbala poetic vocabulary is quite rich and local poets use quite an extensive set of formulas; at the same time, unlike in the case of, for instance, the Yugoslavian epics that were elaborately collected and documented by a number of researchers in the course of several decades, there is no corpus of the Jbala poetry available except for the sporadic publications by Michaux-Bellaire (1911) and Biarnay (1924) that are discussed below. In addition, by its very definition, a poetic formula is an expression that is used repeatedly and by a group of poets belonging to the same poetic tradition. Consequently, in order to claim that an expression which occurs in a song is formulaic, one needs to make sure it has already occurred somewhere else.

The Secondary Corpus consists of two parts: audio records of contemporary Jbala singers from 1960s-1990s and texts collected by French researchers in the beginning of the 20th century.

5.3.1 Secondary Corpus I: Audio Records made in the 1960s and 1990s

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, in order to create a sort of database of formulaic expressions used by Jbala poets and obtain a maximally full picture of the development of the Jbala poetry in the course of the 20th century, I decided to go through available songs from the period 1960s-

1990s, and choose some of them to be included in the Secondary Corpus. I selected those songs that had contained the same formulaic expressions that occurred in the songs by the four modern singers in the Core Corpus. After a thorough analysis of a fair amount of the Jbala songs I had at my disposal in the form of audio records on tapes and CDs, as well as video records and video clips circulating among the Jbala audience, I opted for five that were loaded with expressions textually similar to the ones I found in the Core Corpus. In other words, these five songs, performed by five different Jbala singers, are highly formulaic and the formulaic material they contain enables me to further document the formulaic nature of a lot of the phrases in the songs of the four singers in the Core Corpus.

All singers whose songs were chosen, enjoyed considerable popularity at the time, and some still do so, as was confirmed to me by locals during my visits to Morocco, their records are easy to buy and they are often played in coffee shops, kiosks, restaurants, bazaars and other public places. Their songs can be regarded as typical and classical examples of the Jbala music of the recent past. Except for Abdelhaq Laaroussi, who is Lahcen Laaroussi's brother, and thus a member of the famous Laaroussi dynasty, and is still a quite popular entertainer, the musical career of the other four has been over for a long time. Not much information has been left about them, but their names are still familiar to the locals, and people from older generations can even recall some of the songs these four singers were once famous for. Since the purpose of including these five songs was to create a background corpus of formulaic expressions used in Jbala poetry, their literacy level was not taken into consideration, nor was the question of authorship, for the same practical reason. This part of the corpus includes the songs listed in Table 5.5. The table contains necessary information about the songs by Mohammed al-Ghiyathi, Mohammed al-Ayachi, Rhimou Ouazzania, Abdehaq Laaroussi and Abdessalam el-Khomssi used in this research.

Table 5.5: Songs by other other Jbala singers, whose songs were used in this research

Genre	Author and time	Title	Translation	Appendix
ayta	Mohammed al-Ghiyathi (1960s)	untitled	untitled	MG 23, Appendix I
ayta	Mohammed al-Ayachi (1960s)	untitled	untitled	MA 24, Appendix I
ughniya	Rhimou Ouazzania (1980s)	*ddiini l Faas saariini*	*Take me to Fes to stroll!*	RO 25, Appendix I
ayta	Abdehaq Laaroussi (1990s)	untitled	untitled	AL 26, Appendix I
ughniya	Abdessalam el-Khomssi (1970s)	*ṣaqṣii l-ḥbii ila jaa*	*Ask my Sweetheart if he Comes*	AKH 27, Appendix I

5.3.2 Secondary Corpus II: Old Printed Materials

The earliest samples of Jbala poetry available were collected and published by Michaux-Bellaire (1911: 153-158) and Biarnay (1924: 104-110) for the publishing house Ernest Leroux, which was then prolifically publishing scientific periodicals and series on the Maghreb and Morocco. These samples have been included into the corpus for the same reasons as the songs from the period 1960s-1990s, to create a corpus of formulaic expressions commonly used in Jbala poetry. In addition, the old material allows tracing its development in the course of a century. Neither publication contains any information on the authorship of these songs, or the place where they were heard and recorded.

Michaux-Bellaire, who held the position of head of *La Mission Scientifique au Maroc*, and was editor in chief of *Archives Marocaines*, has collected and published samples of Jbala poetry as part of a bigger project: a comprehendsive study of indigenous Moroccan society with the purpose of building an appropriate colonial policy, i.e., his scientific interests lay first of all in the fields of sociology, ethnography, and history. In fact, it was *La Mission Scientifique au Maroc* who convinced the French authorities to colonize the country (Amster 2013: 90-91) and while its publications contain very precise information about political, social and military aspects of the Jbala life, the poetic texts collected by Michaux-Bellaire often are lacking in accuracy in transcription and translation. Some of the poetic lines are given in French and some are in a sort of simplified Arabic transcription accompanied by a French translation: the first five examples, or 20 lines, in the source,

(Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 153) are classified as *ayta*, they are given in French and one can only guess how the original sounded. Next lines are classified by the author as *gubbaaḥi*, they are also in French (Michaux-Bellaire: 154); these lines were not included in the corpus because in the French translation they do not sound any similar to to the rest of the material including both the Core Corpus and the Secondary Corpus I. The next portion of lines (Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 154-155) are classified as *ayyuu* and given in an Arabic transcription followed by a French translation. The final lines (Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 155-157) are classified as *allal* (*ɛalaal*) and are partially given in an Arabic transcription, followed by a French translation, and partially in French. They were not included in the corpus since, due to structural and stylistic differences. I saw no connection between them and other poetic texts of the Jbala, as if they belonged to a different poetic tradition. The following lines (Example (56)) best illustrate my reasoning:

(56) ɛallaali ɛallaali wa-lla maa nxasser kḥuuli fiik yaa š-šiibaani
My Allaal, my Allaal, I swear by God, I am not wasting on you my kohl, you, old man
ɛallaali ɛallaali wa-lla maa nxasser fiik ḥenneti yaa š-šiibaani
My Allaal, my Allaal, I swear by God, I am not wasting on you my henna, you, old man
ɛallaali ɛallaali wa-lla maa nxasser fiik ziinti yaa š-šiibaani
My Allaal, my Allaal, I swear by God, I am not wasting on you my jewelry, you, old man (Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 156)

The lines in this example are much longer than they are in *ayta*, *ayyuu* or *ughniya*. The rhyme pattern is built on the repetition of the same word, *š-šiibaani* - 'old man' at the end of each line, which is not typical for the three genres studied in this research. Therefore, such samples could not contribute to establishing formulaic database for the Core Corpus and it was not rational therefore to use such them for the formulaic analysis.

The samples of Jbala poetry collected by Biarnay (1924) were published in a chapter on agricultural festivals, in a monograph on ethnography and linguistics in North Africa. All lines are in Arabic script followed by a translation in French. They are more consistent in terms of accuracy and easier to work with. Biarnay classified all collected samples as *ayyuu*; poetic lines are punctuated with vivid descriptions of the situations and occasions on which such lines could be performed.

Despite the general inaccuracy of texts and translation, these early excerpts of Jbala poetry contain important information on the character and language of the Jbala a hundred years ago and can be used as material for formulaic analysis. The total amount of poetic lines taken from these sources

is 139, where 56 lines are taken from Michaux-Bellaire (20 lines are in French and 36 are in Arabic) and 83 from Biarnay. In order to divide the samples in Arabic into poetic lines according to the Jbala tradition, I had to match the old published texts with the modern ones, knowing that usually a number of syllables per poetic line is about six to eight and that a stanza usually comprises four lines. The texts in French presented more difficulty: I had to match them again with modern texts and see if there were any semantic similarities with the modern material, keeping in mind as well the above mentioned rules of the Jbala poetry. For instance, in Michaux-Bellaire (1911: 153) I found:

(57) Des grebes de fusils sont dressées au marché de l'Arba
There are sounds of guns at the market of el-Arba
C'est ce que crie El Qaus et les têtes se coupent
There are cries in el-Qaus and the heads are being cut off' (Appendix I, MB ayta 5)

A number of more modern *aytas* contain similar lines, for instance:

(58) aa wa-fiin ṭarṭaaq el-baruut
Ah and where are sounds of gun-powder explosions?
aa wa-be-l-Hawta de Ghzaawa
Ah and in el-Hawta of Ghzawa
aa wa-ɛazzuu ɛaleyna l-muuta
Ah and we mourn our dead ones.
aa wa-maa l-jaraḥ yeddaawa
Ah and these wounds are self-healing (Appendix I, LL1 11: 37-40)

and

(59) wa-maa ṭarṭaaq el-baruut
There are sounds of gun-powder explosions
fe-j-jbel de-Bni Darkuul
In the mountain of Bni Darkul (Appendix I, ML 1: 27-28)

The semantical similarity of the lines leaves no doubt for those, familiar with Moroccan Arabic, that they represent the same formula. It is also clear from textual comparison of both Arabic and French versions that the Arabic original translated into French contained four poetic lines. The above samples of the Jbala poetry collected by Michaux-Bellaire and Biarnay have been included into the Appendix and can be found under the title Secondary Corpus II: Old Printed Materials in Appendix I.

CHAPTER 6

Formulaicity in Modern Jbala Poetry: Results

This chapter presents the formulaic analysis of the song texts of each of the four singers introduced in Chapter 5 and discusses examples of highly formulaic texts, as well as the non-formulaic ones. It then shifts to the level of literacy of each of the singers, detailing their reading and writing skills. Next, the chapter answers the question if and to what extent literacy and formulaicity are linked. Finally, all this is interpreted in the light of the context in which the Jbala poets create and perform their songs, and the factors that may make them use or avoid formulaic language are explored.

6.1 Formulaic Analysis

This section contains the analysis of formulaicity in the texts of the four Jbala singers that participated in this research: Mohammed Laaroussi, Lahcen Laaroussi, Latifa Laaroussia, and Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi. In Section 6.2, the formulaic material is placed in tables, one for each of the poets. The results produce an answer to the first part of the first research question:

1a. What is the general picture of formulaicity in the songs of each of the four singers participating in this study?

The overall result of the analysis of the songs of the four poets in Section 6.2 leads to the answer in Section 6.3 on the second part of my first research question, which was formulated as follows:

1b. What is the overall picture of formulaicity in modern Jbala poetry and in each of the three genres *ayta*, *ughniya* and *ayyuu*?

Relating the results to the degree of literacy of each poet helps answering the second research question in Section 6.4:

2. Does the literacy level of Jbala performers have an impact on their use of formulaic language?

Based on the analysis of the formulaic material and of other aspects of the content of the songs, on the interviews held with the four singers, on field notes, and on secondary literature, the study will finally formulate an answer to the third research question in Section 6.5:

3. What are the contextual factors and conditions that influence the choice of a modern Jbala poet in favor or against the use of formulaic language in his songs?

As discussed in Chapter 4, the occurrence of formulas is measured per line, i.e., I calculate the amount of formulaic lines, not the amount of formulas. That said, if a formula stretches to four lines, it is calculated as four formulaic lines. I calculate instances of formulaicity the following way:

(a) the total number of lines

Then the lines, that are formulaic, consisting of:

(b) 'structuring formulas'
(c) 'content formulas'

Then the lines that contain 'formulaic elements':

(d) 'lines with formulaic elements', i.e., not fully formulaic lines

Finally the lines that are non-formulaic:

(e) non-formulaic lines

All of this is done according to the classification described in Chapter 4. This classification avoids calculating the same formula two or even three times. Thus the 'structuring formulas' and 'content formulas' are calculated as formulaic lines while non-formulaic lines that have a 'formulaic elements' in them are 'lines with formulaic elements'. In the cases where a poetic line can be classified as formulaic but at the same time has 'formulaic elements' in it, it is classified as a formulaic line and not as a line with 'formulaic elements' (see Section 4.2.1). The four tables contain, in addition to information pertaining to the songs, figures for the five categories mentioned above. The full

list of formulaic lines found in the Core Corpus is placed in three tables that can be found in Appendix III, in which Table A.III.1 contains structure formulas, Table A.III.2 content formulas, and Table A.III.3 'formulaic elements'. These tables are used to answer research question 2. In order to give further evidence that certain lines in the Core Corpus can be classified as formulaic, I added similar poetic lines from the Secondary Corpus in these tables where applicable. There are also references to the Secondary Corpus in Section 6.2, where I analyze the songs of the four singers.

Explanations on how I calculate percentage of formulaic lines and lines with 'formulaic elements' are given in Section 4.2.4. As described in Section 4.2.3, I use the following method to interpret the level of formulaicity: if the percentage of formulaic lines in a text is 70% or more, I consider the text to have a high level of formulaicity. If the percentage of formulaic lines is between 30% and 70%, I consider it a text with a moderate level of formulaicity. If the figure is less than 30% but more than 0%, I consider this a low level of formulaicity. Lines with no formulas are classified as non-formulaic.

6.2 The Level of Formulaicity of the Four Singers

This Section presents the results of the formulaic analysis for each of the four singers separately, and thus answers research question 1a, i.e., gives a general picture of formulaicity in their songs.

6.2.1 Mohammed Laaroussi

Table 6.1 presents the results of the analysis of the songs of singer Mohammed Laaroussi.

Table 6.1: Numbers and percentages of formulaic lines, lines with 'formulaic elements', non-formulaic lines and total amount of lines for the one *ayta* and four *ughniyas* by Mohammed Laaroussi

	No	Song name and code	Structuring formulas	Content formulas	% of formulaic lines	Lines with 'formulaic elements'		Non-formulaic lines	Lines total
						Lines	%		
ayta	1	*Ayta of Tribe Bni Darkul* (ML 1)	7	22	35	25	30	28	82
ughniya	2	*May God Bless You, my Country* (ML 2)	2	13	44	2	6	17	34
	3	*Rhimu* (ML 3)	2	0	8	6	25	16	24
	4	*My Mind is with my Beloved* (ML 4)	2	1	10	4	13	24	31
	5	*I am a Peasant* (ML 5)	0	0	0	0	0	18	18
Total			13	36		37		103	189

The level of formulaicity in the songs by Mohammed Laaroussi is from nill to moderate: formulaic lines constitute 26% of the total amount of lines and lines with 'formulaic elements' constitute 20% of the total amount of lines.

The texts with the highest level of formulaicity are the *ayta* and one of the *ughniyas*. Song (1) *Ayta of Tribe Bni Darkul* has the following degree of formulaicity: formulaic lines constitute 35% of the total number of lines and lines with 'formulaic elements' constitute 30%. The following excerpt (example (60)) gives an idea how the formulaic lines are combined with lines with just a 'formulaic element', and with non-formulaic lines:

(60) wa-maa ṭarṭaaq el-baruuṭ
There are sounds of gun-powder explosions
fe j-jbel de Bni Darkuul
In the mountain of Bni Darkuul.
wa-maa ila wṣelt n timm
If you arrived there,
yebqa fummek meḥluul
Keep your mouth shut (Appendix I, ML 1: 27-30)

Lines 1 and 2 constitute a famous formula that is widely used among Jbala poets (see below for details and further examples), line 3 is non-formulaic but starts with the 'formulaic element' *wa-maa* - 'and here' that are mostly

omitted in my English translations because they do not have semantical value and make understanding of the text complicated for the reader unfamiliar with Arabic language and this particular tradition (also see Section 4.2.2 for details and other examples), and line 4 is non-formulaic. Song (2) *May God Bless You, my Country*, also has a moderate degree of formulaicity with 44% formulaic lines and 6% lines with 'formulaic elements'.

Song (3) '*Rhimu*' has a rather low degree of formulaicity: formulaic lines constitute 8% and lines with 'formulaic elements' 25% of the total number of lines. Although it has very few formulaic lines, this song, starts off with a traditional *début de la chanson*, which I classified as a 'structuring formula' (see Section 4.2.2 for details). Throughout the text, lines occur that start with 'formulaic elements'. For instance (example (61)):

(61) yaa lalla ilaali
wa-yaa lalla ilaali
aa yimma dyaali
Ah my Mother!
waaš kaaan sbaabu ghzaali
Why did it happen, my sweetheart? (Appendix I, ML 3: 1-2, CH 1-2).

Song (4) *My Mind is with my Beloved* also has a fairly low degree of formulaicity, with 10% formulaic lines and 13% lines with 'formulaic elements'. Like the previous song, it starts with the *début de la chanson* that gives the generally non-formulaic text a traditional structure.

Finally, song (5) *I am a Peasant* has no traces of formulaicity at all. The text, although accompanied by a traditional melody, sounds like an original piece of poetry, as if it was the poet's aim to emphasize his individual style. The lines below (example (62)) demonstrate this:

(62) daazet l-iyaam nfuut nemšii wa-nsaafar
Those days (when) I was leaving, going away and traveling are since gone.
fe l-midiina naɛiiš nskun wa-nhaajar
In the city I was residing and then I departed,
biɛt blaadi wa-xiimti wa-fraqt ḥbaab
I sold my country and my tent and got separated from the relatives,
wa-haajart arḍi wa-mulki llii ksabt
I left my land and my belongings. (Appendix I, ML 5: 1-4)

Reviewing the analysis of the songs of Mohammed Laaroussi I conclude that, on average, this singer uses formulaic language quite moderately. Some of his texts have a considerable level of formulaicity – up to 44% in the song *May God Bless You, my Country* (ML 2). The song *I am a Peasant* (ML 5), on the

other hand, shows that he also produces completely non-formulaic texts. Mohammed Laaroussi also makes use of 'formulaic elements' – in the song *Ayta of Tribe Bni Darkul* (ML 1) the share of lines with 'formulaic elements' reaches 30%.

6.2.2 Lahcen Laaroussi

Table 6.2 presents the results of the analysis of the songs of Lahcen Laaroussi.

Table 6.2: Numbers and percentages of formulaic lines, lines with 'formulaic elements', non-formulaic lines and total amount of lines for two *aytas* and four *ughniyas* by Lahcen Laaroussi

	No	Song name and code	Structuring formulas	Content formulas	% of formulaic lines	Lines with 'formulaic elements'		Non-formulaic lines	Lines total
						Lines	%		
ayta	1	*Ayta* (LL1 10)	5	21	79	3	12	4	33
ughniya	2	*Ayta* (LL1 11)	4	38	100	0	0	0	42
	3	*Who will pitty me?* (LL1 6)	0	11	50	5	23	6	22
	4	*Patient mother* (LL1 7)	0	0	0	12	67	6	18
	5	*Guard* (LL1 8)	0	13	65	2	10	5	20
	6	*May God Bless You, my Father!* (LL1 9)	0	11	79	1	7	2	14
Total			9	94		23		23	149

Lahcen Laaroussi's texts are characterized by a considerable level of formulaicity, only 1% under my threshold for being classified as 'high': formulaic lines constitute 69% of the total number in the texts, and lines with 'formulaic elements' another 15%. Half of Lahcen's texts turned out to be highly formulaic. Two untitled *aytas* have the highest level of formulaicity: (1) *Ayta* in which formulaic lines constitute 79% of the total number of lines, and lines with 'formulaic elements' 12%; and (2) *Ayta* with 100% formulaicity. Both *aytas* start with the same 'structuring formula':

(63) wa-bismilla bdiina
In the name of God we begin.
aa wa-ɛala n-nbi ṣalliina
And we blessed the Prophet,
wa-seyyidna Mḥammed
Our Master Muhammed.
wa-huwa šaafeɛ fiina
Ah and he is our patron. (Appendix I, LL1 10: 1-4, LL1 11: 1-4)

These two *aytas* share a number of formulaic lines. For instance:

(64) wa-maa Buu Hlaal aa Buu Hlaal
And here is Bu Hlal, ah, Bu Hlal.
wa-maa Buu Hlaal be r-riiba
And here is Bu Hlal in ruins.
wa-xurjuu mennu l-ɛaaylaat
The women have abandoned it.
wa-xallaw fii l-hiiba
And left fear in it (Appendix I, LL1 10: 29-32, LL1 11: 29-32)

Some of the formulas in Lahcen's *aytas* are very old and can be found even in the old French sources. Example (65) is an excerpt from Lahcen's *ayta* and example (66) are lines I found in Michaux-Bellaire's collection (1918). The latter were published in French but there is no doubt that the Arabic original sounded very similar to Lahcen's text:

(65) wa-yaɛjibnii waad eṣ-Ṣṭaaḥ
I like river es-Stah,
wa-yaɛjibnii be ḥjaaru
And I like it because of its stones.
wa-l-ḥbiib muulaay ɛAbsaam
(Our) beloved Moulay Abdessalam,
wa-saɛdat yaa lli zaaruu
Happy are those who have visited (his shrine). (Appendix I, LL1 10: 25-28)

(66) L'Oued Settah m'a plu et ses roches étaient sur son bord.
I like river es-Stah and stones along its coast
Notre bien-aimé, Moulay Abdessalam! C'est nous qui sommes ses serviteures!
(Our) beloved Moulay Abdessalam, we are his servants! (Appendix I, MB *ayta* II)

Ughniyas (3) *Who will Pity me?*, (4) *Guard* and (5) *May God Bless You, my Father!* are moderate to highly formulaic: between half and three quarters of their lines are formulaic, they also contain a small percentage of lines, starting with 'formulaic elements'. The texts of (3), (4) and (5) can be characterized as traditional poetry, where the author makes extensive use of the formulas that are typical of this particular tradition.

The song *Patient Mother*, finally,is much less formulaic: none of the lines are fully formulaic, though lines with 'formulaic elements' constitute 67% of the total number of lines. These 'formulaic elements', that start more than half of the lines, give the text some 'traditional' appearance:

(67) ẏaa lalla wa-rḍii ɛaleyya
Oh, Lalla, bless me,
wa-ẏaa waḥšik saal ɛaleyya
Your longing flew on me [with tears],
wa-ẏaa ɛaawniinii be-rḍaak
Help me with your blessing,
ẏaa wa-rḍaak ḥjaab ɛaleyya
Your blessing is a protection for me. (Appendix I, LL1 7: 5-8)

Reviewing the analysis of the songs of Lahcen Laaroussi, I conclude that in his poetry he uses formulaic language fairly often. Lahcen can produce texts that are highly or even completely formulaic – one of his *aytas* (*Ayta* (LL1 11)) is 100% made up of formulaic lines. At the same time, he is capable of making relatively non-formulaic texts, as is demonstrated with the song *Patient Mother* (LL1 7).

6.2.3 Latifa Laaroussia

Table 6.3 presents the results of the analysis of the songs by Latifa Laaroussia.

Table 6.3: Numbers and percentage of formulaic lines, lines with 'formulaic elements', non-formulaic lines and total amount of lines for two *aytas* and four *ughniyas* by Latifa Laaroussia

	No	Song name and code	Structuring formulas	Content formulas	% of formulaic lines	Lines with 'formulaic elements'		Non-formulaic lines	Lines total
						Lines	%		
ayta	1	*Ayta* (LL2 16)	1	9	83	0	0	2	13
ughniya	2	*Ayta* (LL2 17)	3	22	100	0	0	0	25
	3	*My mother* (LL2 12)	0	11	58	0	0	8	19
	4	*I am a Slave of my Sweetheart* (LL1 13)	1	9	56	0	0	8	18
	5	*[stil] Little and [already] Going away!* (LL2 15)	0	10	45	2	9	10	22
	6	*Mulay Abdessalam* (LL2 14)	0	8	40	1	5	11	20
Total			5	69		3		40	117

The texts of Latifa Laaroussia are characterized by a moderate level of formulaicity. On average, formulaic lines constitute 63% of the total number of lines, but only 3% are lines with 'formulaic elements'. The highest level of formulaicity is found in her untitled *aytas*: (1) *Ayta* has 83% of formulaic lines, no lines with 'formulaic elements'; and (2) *Ayta* is completely composed of formulaic lines. Latifa's *aytas* are fairly short, both of them containing 'structuring formulas' that give the text an even more 'authentic' sound. Example (68) shows how such 'structuring formulas' work as choruses:

(68) jaamaɛ de l-mujaahdiin
The mosque where warriors gather,

Chorus
aa Šaama wa-raaḫ el-leyl
Ah Shama, the night is over!

wa-l-ɛaalya fooq eš-Šaawen
Dominates Chefchaouen!

el-Mḥaala wa-Bin Qariiš
[from there they proceed to] el-Mhala and Bin Qarish

Chorus
ṣaayga ɛala Teṭṭaawen
And continue to Tetouan (Appendix I, LL2 16: 1-4, CH)

The songs *My Mother* (3) and *I am a Slave of my Sweetheart* (4) have approximately the same degree of formulaicity: in (3) 58% of lines are formulaic, in (4) 56%. In *[still] Little and [already] Going away!* (5) 45% of lines are formulaic, and 9% are lines with 'formulaic elements'. The texts of Latifa's *ughniyas* contain a lot of formulas that seem to be well known and extensively used by other Jbala poets. *Mulay Abdessalaam*, however, represents a different case: despite its traditional topic, the pilgrimage to the shrine of the patron saint of the Jbala, its text has an unexpectedly low degree of formulaicity: 40% of the lines are formulaic; an additional 5% are lines with 'formulaic elements'. In general, the text gives the impression of Latifa conveying the traditional topic using her own, original style. Although she cannot avoid using the formulaic expression *šay illa haa l-waalii* - 'this saint is highly respected', usually added to any name of a local saint, she then turns the pilgrimage event into a secret love adventure and creates the text with minimal use of formulas:

(69) zuuruu fe yawm er-rbiiɛ
Visit his shrine in a spring day –
le-xḍuura wa-l-manḍar rafiiɛ
There is music and nice scenery.
wa-yaa alla yaa ben ɛammi
Oh God, oh my cousin,
maalek xawfaan kun šjiiɛ
Why are you afraid [of visiting his shrine]? Be brave! (Appendix I, LL2 14: 1-4)

Reviewing the songs of Latifa Laaroussia, I conclude that she regularly resorts to formulas in her poetry. This singer produces both fully formulaic (*Ayta* (LL2 17)) and moderately formulaic texts. She seems, however, to be reluctant to use 'formulaic elements' a lot: their highest share in any of the songs is only 9% (*[still] Little and [already] Going away!* (LL2 15)).

6.2.4 Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi

Table 6.4 presents the results of the analysis of the songs of Abdelmalik al-Andaloussi.

Table 6.4: Numbers and percentages of formulaic lines, lines with 'formulaic elements', non-formulaic lines and total amount of lines for one *ayta* and four *ughniyas* by Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi

	No	Song name and code	Structuring formulas	Content formulas	% of formulaic lines	Lines with 'formulaic elements'		Non-formulaic lines	Lines total
						Lines	%		
ayta	1	*Ayta of Jerusalem* (AA 22)	0	0	0	6	20	24	30
ughniya	2	*Forest Birds* (AA 19)	0	1	5	2	10	17	20
	3	*To where Have you Arrived, my Dear?* (AA 18)	0	0	0	1	6	15	16
	4	*My Dear Brother* (AA 20)	0	4	31	5	39	4	13
	5	*My Dear Shama* (AA 21)	0	0	0	3	27	11	15
Total			0	5		17		71	93

The texts of Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi are characterized by a low degree of formulaicity. Very few lines are formulaic: on average, formulaic lines constitute only 6%. Low as well is the number of 'fomulaic lines' with only 18%. Abdelmalek's *ayta* – (1) *Ayta of Jerusalem* – is typical: it has no formulaic lines, and 20% lines with 'formulaic elements'. This *ayta* does not have a traditional beginning, nor does it have a traditional chorus. At the same time, it has a clear structure, with a clear division between stanzas and choruses, and a text dedicated to one theme – the need to help the Palestinians who are suffering from oppression by the Zionists; both of these features are typical of Abdelmalek's songs. The decision to classify this song as an ayta was made for two reasons: because this is what it was called by its author, and (2) because the song is recognized as an *ayta* by other local singers. The 'formulaic elements' that form the start of some of the lines add a bit of a 'traditional' flavor; however, these elements play first of all a grammatical role in the sentence (see Section 4.2.1 for details) and do not give the impression that they are used purely for decoration:

(70) aa ɛibaad allah
Ah, servants of God!
rijaal allah
Holy people!
diik l-blaad de z-zaytuun
This country of olives,
maa-nxalliwha ne-ṣ-ṣahyuun

We will not leave it to Zionists
waxxa yekuun lli yekuun
And be that as it may! (Appendix I, AA 22: 6-10)

The level of formulaicity of song (2) *Forest Birds* is low: formulaic lines 5%, lines with 'formulaic elements' 10%. The only formulaic line, which constitutes 5% of the whole text, is an idiomatic expression. This line is *laa yimma laa baaba* - 'neither Mother, nor Father' (Appendix I, AA 19: CH 1-2). Based on the criteria I used to decide whether a certain idiom can be seen as a formula (see Section 4.2.2), I have annotated this line as formulaic because it also occurs in another song in my Corpus, namely *May God Bless You, my Father!* by Lahcen Laaroussi (Appendix I, LL1 6: CH 1-2).

The level of formulaicity for (3) *To where Have you Arrived, my Dear?* is the lowest in the songs by al-Andaloussi that I used for this research: no formulaic lines at all, and lines with 'formulaic elements' only 6% of the total. The case of the song (5) *My Dear Shama* is interesting because it does not have any formulaic lines either, but it does have a considerable number of lines with 'formulaic elements': 27%.

The highest level of formulaicity occurs in the song (4) *My Dear Brother*, with 31% formulaic lines and 39% lines with 'formulaic elements'. This can be explained by the fact that the chorus in this song, as well as each stanza, starts with the same lines, where the first line is formulaic and the second line has 'formulaic elements':

(71) *Chorus*
aa xaay yaa l-ɛaziiz
Ah my dear brother,
yaa l-maaši l Uruupa
Who is leaving for Europe!
nenṣeḥ lak maa temši l Uruupa
I advise you not to go to Europe,
aa xaay ḥetta temma l-bṭaala
Since, my brother, even there they have unemployment.

Stanza 1
aa xaay yaa l-ɛaziiz
Ah, my dear brother,
yaa l-xeddaam f l-gharsa
Who is engaged in agricultural works,

nenṣeḥ lak maa temši l Fransa
I advise you not to go to France! (Appendix I, AA 20: 1-4, CH)

Reviewing the songs of Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi, I conclude that he uses formulaic language rather scarcely, fluctuating between 31% in the song *My Dear Brother* (AA 20) to 0%.

6.2.5 Non-Formulaic Songs

In the previous sections I have mostly demonstrated instances of the usage of formulaic language by the four singers. It became clear that not all of their songs are fully or even partially formulaic. Below I discuss those songs that do not contain any formulaic language at all, except 'formulaic elements'. The reader will have noticed that in the above sections I classified 'formulaic elements' as a subtype of formulaicity. At the same time, I cautiously counted them separately from fully formulaic lines (see Section 6.1). The decision to regard songs that only have 'formulaic elements' but no formulaic lines as non-formulaic was made on the basis of the following reasoning. As I discussed in Section 4.2.1, 'formulaic elements' are separate words that, in the Jbala tradition, usually start the poetic line. Sometimes, these words are not linked semantically to the rest of the sentence and play a 'decorative role'; other times, however, they play an important grammatical role in the sentence. This was the case, for example, with the particle *maa* (see Section 4.2.1 for details). It can be difficult to say whether this word is a 'formulaic element' or just a regular part of the sentence. On the other hand, there has not been any thorough research on 'formulaic elements' that would confirm or invalidate their formulaic nature. That said, counting a line that has only one or two possibly formulaic words in it as formulaic, is difficult to justify when we also have lines that are much more formulaic.

Table 6.5 lists songs from the Core Corpus that do not contain formulaic lines.

Table 6.5: Non-formulaic songs

No	Song name and code	Genre	Author	'Formulaic elements'
1	*I am a Peasant* (ML 5)	*ughniya*	Mohammed Laaroussi	no
2	*Patient Mother* (LL1 7)	*ughniya*	Lahcen Laaroussi	yes
3	*To where Have you Arived, my Dear?* (AA 18)	*ughniya*	Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi	yes
4	*Ayta of Jerusalem* (AA 22)	*ayta*	Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi	yes
5	*My Dear Shama* (AA 21)	*ughniya*	Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi	yes

Structure

These five songs appear to be neater structured then the songs that contain formulaic lines. There is a clear distinction between stanzas and choruses that textually complete each other. The following lines from the song *Patient Mother* illustrate this:

(72) *Chorus*
aa yimma ṣaabra wa-nɛaddii
Oh mother you are patient and I do the best I can,
wa-ana saɛdii maa huu ɛandii
Happiness – I do not have it,

Stanza 1
yaa wa-lalla s-salaam ɛaleyk
Oh, Lalla, greetings to you,
yaa wa-lalla s-salaam ɛaleyk
Oh, Lalla, greetings to you,
yaa wa-lalla laa tfaakkernii
Oh, Lalla, do not think about me,
raa el-buɛd beynii wa-beyniik
There is a distance between you and me (Appendix I, L1 7: CH 1-4)

I have not spotted any rhyme inaccuracies in the non-formulaic texts. Generally speaking, the poetic lines in both the choruses and the stanzas of all five songs give the impression of being thoroughly 'polished' to conform to the ideal of poetry as it is seen in the Jbala tradition (see Section 3.4).

Topics

The songs *I am a Peasant* (ML 5) by Mohammed Laaroussi, and *To where Have you Arrived, my Dear?* (AA 18), *My Dear Shama* (AA 21) and *Ayta of Jerusalem* (AA 22) by Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi talk about patriotic issues at various levels (from love for the home village (song *I am a Peasant*) to the necessity to defend brother Arabs in Palestine against Zionists (song *Ayta of Jerusalem*). The text of the song *Patient Mother* (LL1 7) by Lahcen Laaroussi stands slightly apart because it mostly covers the topic of love for Mother, although there are also lines about the hardships of living far away from home (example (73)):

(73) yaa lalla le-fraaq yeɛaddib
Oh, Lalla, this distance is tormenting,
l-meḥabba baaqa fe l-qalb
But love stays in my heart,
fe qalbi l-wnes yeqarreb
Those who share with me my company become dear to my heart,
wa-lli keddeb yejarreb
And the one, who thinks that I am lying, can try it (Appendix I, LL1 7: 9-12)

Unlike what is usually the case for formulaic texts (see Section 3.4 for detailed discussion), these five songs represent complete, although short, stories, in which the stanzas are strongly linked to each other semantically. For instance, consider the first two stanzas of the song *I am a Peasant* by Mohammed Laaroussi (example (74):

(74) daazet l-iyaam nfuut nemšii wa-nsaafar
Those days (when) I was leaving, going away and traveling are since gone.
fe l-midiina naɛiiš nskun wa-nhaajar
In the city I was residing and then I departed,
biɛt blaadi wa-xiimti wa-fraqt ḥbaab
I sold my country and my tent and got separated from the relatives,
wa-haajart arḍi wa-mulki llii ksabt
I left my land and my belongings.

Stanza 2
faatet mudda wa-ḥann qalbi li blaadi
Some time has passed and my heart yearned for my country.
wa-msaḥ jmaalha wa-maaha wa-l-waadi
The purity of the beauty of my country, water and river,

štaqiit le ṭiibha wa-kmaal ibhaahaa
I missed its kindness and its sublime fascination
wa-nsaam zhaarha wa-ɛaliil ihwaahaa
The perfection of the fragrance of its flowers and crispness of its ear,
dekkart wqaat ɛišt fiiha teḥt ismaaha
I recall when I lived under its skies.
wa-djiib ɛayuun jaarya ṣaafi maaha
The source of its springs brings its clear waters (Appendix I, ML 5:1-10)

From the above example the reader can see how Mohammed Laaroussi consistently tells the story from the perspective of a certain *jebli* man, who has left his village and has settled in a city. The last stanza narrates how the character makes the decision to go back to the place where he was born (Appendix I, ML 5).

To summarize, non-formulaic songs from the Core Corpus, or songs that only contain 'formulaic elements', usually have better structured texts, where stanzas are semantically better linked to each other. Also, such songs have a more accurate rhyme pattern. Although four of the five songs do share the same topic, I would not conclude this an intrinsic trait of non-formulaic texts in the Jbala tradition because the themes of patriotism and love for the home village, city or country are among the central topics of Jbala poetry (see Section 3.2.2).

6.3 Jbala Poetry and Formulaicity

While the previous sections described the levels of formulaicity characterizing the work of each singer, I will now attempt to answer the more general research question 1b: What is the general picture of formulaicity in modern Jbala poetry in general and each of the three genres, i.e., *ayta*, *ughniya* and *ayyuu*, in particular? And so the focus now shifts to the different genres, as it was clear from the data that the singers were differentially constrained in their freedom to choose formulaic or non-formulaic material by the characteristics of the genres. As discussed in Section 3.2.2, these genres, while sharing a lot in common, still have a number of differences. Until very recent times, *ayta* was performed by men and refers to various tribal events, such as local wars and pilgrimages to the shrines of local saints (see Section 3.2.2). *Ayyuu*, on the contrary, even today is usually performed by women and mostly in the natural settings, i.e., during agricultural festivities and religious pilgrimages. Also, *ayyuus* can touch on practically any topic Songs in the genre of *ughniya* are equally performed by both men and

women at various occasions, although until recent, it could be publicly performed only by men, and cover a number of topics: romance, patriotism, social issues.

Tables 6.6 and 6.7 show percentage of formulaic lines and lines with 'formulaic elements' in *aytas* and *ughniyas* from the Core Corpus in the descending order. The data were taken from Tables 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4. Explanations on how I calculated percentage of formulaic lines and lines with 'formulaic elements' are given in Section 4.2.4. Table 6.6 presents the percentage of formulaic lines and lines with 'formulaic elements' in *aytas* from the Core Corpus in the descending order.

Table 6.6: Percentage of formulaicity found in *aytas*

No	Ayta name and code	Singer	Formulaic lines (%)	'Formulaic elements' (%)
1	*Ayta* (LL2 17)	Latifa Laaroussi	100	0
2	*Ayta* (LL1 11)	Lachen Laaroussi	100	0
3	*Ayta* (LL2 16)	Latifa Laaroussi	83	0
4	*Ayta* (LL1 10)	Lachen Laaroussi	79	12
5	*Ayta of Tribe Bni Darkul* (ML 1)	Mohammed Laaroussi	35	30
6	*Ayta of Jerusalem* (AA 22)	Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi	0	20

Table 6.7 presents the percentage of formulaic lines and lines with 'formulaic elements' in *ughniyas* from the Core Corpus in the descending order.

Table 6.7: Percentage of formulaicity found in *ughniyas*

No	Ughniya name and code	Singer	Formulaic lines (%)	'Formulaic elements' (%)
1	*May God Bless You, my Father!* (LL1 9)	Lahcen Laaroussi	79	7
2	*Guard* (LL1 8)	Lahcen Laaroussi	65	10
3	*My Mother* (LL2 12)	Latifa Laaroussia	58	0
4	*I am a Slave of my Sweetheart* (LL2 13)	Latifa Laaroussia	56	0
5	*Who will Pity me?* (LL1 6)	Lahcen Laaroussi	50	23

No	Ughniya name and code	Singer	Formulaic lines (%)	'Formulaic elements' (%)
6	*[still] Little and [already] Going away!* (LL2 15)	Latifa Laaroussia	45	9
7	*May God Bless You, my Country* (ML 2)	Mohammed Laaroussi	44	6
8	*Mulay Abdessalaam* (LL2 14)	Latifa Laaroussia	40	5
9	*My Dear Brother* (AA 20)	Abedelmalek al-Andaloussi	31	39
10	*My Mind is with my Beloved* (ML 4)	Mohammed Laaroussi	10	13
11	*Rhimu* (ML 3)	Mohammed Laaroussi	8	25
12	*Forest Birds* (AA 19)	Abedelmalek al-Andaloussi	5	10
13	*Patient Mother* (LL1 7)	Lahcen Laaroussi	0	67
14	*My Dear Shama* (AA 21)	Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi	0	27
15	*To where Have you Arrived, my Dear?* (AA 18)	Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi	0	6
16	*I am a Peasant* (ML 5)	Mohammed Laaroussi	0	0

Tables 6.6 and 6.7 clearly show that Mohammed Laaroussi, Lahcen Laaroussi, and Latifa Laaroussia use both formulaic and non-formulaic language and styles of composition. Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi tends not to use formulaic language: even his *ayta* (song (6)), usually expected to be a very traditional song, has a very low degree of formulaicity: there is no formulaic line in the text and only 20% of the lines contain 'formulaic elements'. In general, only very few lines in his texts are formulaic; one of the four formulaic lines that occur in his texts can be classified as an idiom taken from everyday speech (example (72)):

(72) laa yimma laa baabaa
Neither Mother, nor Father (Appendix I, AA 19 CH)

The highest degree of formulaicity is found in the *aytas* (songs Ml 1, LL1 10, LL1 11, LL2 16, LL2 17) and in some of the *ughniyas* (songs ML 2, LL1 6, LL1 8, LL1 9, LL2 12, LL2 13, LL2 15). There is just one exception: the low degree of formulaicity in Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi's *Ayta of Jerusalem*.

The degree to which Jbala poetry is formulaic is illustrated by the parallelism between the Core and Secondary Corpus. It was not difficult to find

texts for the Secondary Corpus that used expressions that resemble the ones found in the Core Corpus. The formulaic analysis of *aytas*, *ughniyas* and *ayyuu* in the Core and Secondary Corpus shows that formulas have a long living history in this tradition, and are passed on from one generation of poets to another. I found a number of very similar formulaic expressions in all three corpora and the lines below illustrate this. Example (75) is from an *ughniya* that belongs to Latifa Laaroussia, examples (76) and (77) from an *ayta* by Abdelhaq Laaroussi and example (78) from an *ayyuu* taken from the publication by Biarnay:

(75) yalla mɛaaya yalla
Let us go together
netsaaraw fe-l-ɛaašiya
And stroll in the evening. (Appendix I, LL 2 12: 13-14)

(76) aa yella mɛaaya yella
Ah let us go together,
n Faas netsaaraawa
To Fes and stroll! (Appendix I, AL 26: 7-8)

(77) yella mɛaaya yella
Let us go together,
yella mɛaaya ne Teṭwaan
Let us go together to Tetouan (Appendix I, AL 26: 11-12)

(78) yella mɛaaya
Let us go together,
wa-nsaariik f jnaani
I will stroll with you in my garden. (Appendix I, B 21: 1-2)

The samples below of *ayyuu* from the old French sources contain a number of formulaic lines that were also found in *aytas* and *ughniyas* from the Core Corpus and Secondary Corpus I. This contributes to the suggestion that these three genres share the same poetic lexicon. Example (79) is a standard beginning of an *ayta*, also found in texts by Lahcen Laaroussi and Latifa Laaroussia, while example (80) is from an *ayyuu* recorded by Biarney. The reader can see that the last two last in these examples are nearly identical:

(79) aa bismilla aa bdiina
In the name of God we begin
wa-ɛala n-nbi ṣalliina
And we blessed the Prophet
wa-seyyidna Mḥammed
Our Master Muhammed

wa-huwa šaafeɛ fiina
He is our patron (Appendix I, LL1 (10: 1-4), LL1 (11: 1-4))

(80) ṣalliw ɛala Moḥamed
Bless Muhammed,
ṣalliw ɛala Moḥi d-Diin
Bless Mohiddin,
seyyidna Mohammed
Our Master Muhammed
yešfaɛ f el-muḥibbiin
Protects the ones who love him (Appendix I, B 1: 1-4)

Another example of poetic formulas that have been around in the Jbala poetry for at least one century is found in the following lines. Example (81) is a stanza from a modern *ughniya* performed by Latifa Laaroussia, while examples (82), (83) and (84) are from *ayyuus* recorded by Biarnay and Michaux-Bellaire. All examples have identical first lines:

(81) l-waad ḥaamel ḥaamel
The river is full with water
maa gheṭṭaa ši rbiiɛu
But did not cover the greenery
ḥaqqi fiik aa ḥbiibi
I have rights on you, my sweetheart
maa nrehnu wa-nbiiɛu
[and] I am not going to put it up or sell. (Appendix I, LL2: 5-8)

(82) el-waad ḥaamel ḥaamel
The river is filled with water
haa-l-waad be qṣaabu
The river and also the reed growing along it.
Alla yeziid f yaamek
May God lengthen your days,
yaa l-maḥbuub wa-ṣaḥbu
My sweetheart and your friends! (Appendix I, MB 7: 1-4)

(83) wa-l-waad ḥaamel ḥaamel
And the river is filled with water
wa-ida ḥmel nɛaddiwhaa
And if it is filled with water, we will cross it!
ed-dnuub maktuub fe r-raas
Our sins have been destined for us,
wa-laa budda nwaddiwhaa
So we cannot avoid committing them! (Appendix I, B 15: 1-4)

(84) wa-l-waad ḥaamel ḥaamel
And the river is filled with water,
wa-iḥna gheir msaamiih
So we can only walk along it.
wa-iḥna gheir mašiinaa f ḥaalna
We have gone away
kull ši bqa l mwaaliih
And everything is now left for its owners. (Appendix I, B 16: 1-4).

The texts of *ayyuu* collected by Biarnay and Michaux-Bellaire show fairly high levels of formulaicity. It has been said that an *ayyuu* can be performed on any topic (LL2: 2, 2010), but up till today, this traditional song, which has never been commercialized, is still mostly performed on a very limited range of occasions, such as pilgrimage to the tombs of local saints and at agricultural festivities. The traditionality of this genre is best illustrated by the following example: in the course of one of her interviews Latifa Laaroussia sang an *ayyuu*, just to demonstrate to me how it sounds (LL2: 2, 2010), it was interesting to learn that the text of Latifa's *ayyuu* (85) is very similar to the one I found in Biarnay (86):

(85) wa-maa ṣ-ṣayf ṣayyafnaaha
We spent the harvest time
wa-l-ɛayš maa ḍmannaaha
but life does not have any guaranties (LL2: 2, 2010)

(86) eṣ-ṣayf ṣayyafnaa
We spent the harvest time
wa-l-ɛayš maa ḍamanna
But life does not have any guaranties.
wa-l-galsa mɛa l-aḥbaab
Time spend with friends,
walla maa šabaɛnaa
I swear to God, we cannot have enough of it (Appendix I, B 19: 1-4)

This traditionality in usage contexts may well contribute to the fact that the genre of *ayyuu* maintains high degrees of formulaicity.

In general, it is not surprising that *aytas* have a high level of formulaicity, too: they offer the singer only a very limited scope of topics and themes, mostly linked to war, local saints, and tribal issues. Moreover, the text is often semantically opaque for the outsider, containing references to localities in the Jbala area that are linked to various events or persons, well known by the Jbala audience. For instance, three *aytas* from the Core Corpus mention gun fights that took place in different areas. These are by Lahcen Laaroussi

(example (87)), Latifa Laaroussia (example (88)) and Mohammed Laaroussi (example (89)):

(87) aa wa-fiin ṭarṭaaq el-baruut
Ah and there are sounds of gun-powder explosions
aa wa-be l-Hawta de Ghzaawa
Ah and in el-Hawta of Ghzawa.
aa wa-ɛazzuu ɛaleyna l-muuta
Ah and we mourn our dead ones.
aa wa-maa l-jaraḥ yeddaawa
Ah and these wounds are self-healing (Appendix I, LL1: 11 37-40)

(88) aa wa-fiin ṭarṭaaq el-baruut
Ah and there are sounds of gun-powder explosions
aa wa-beyn el-Fes wa-Ghzaawa
Ah and between Fes and Ghzawa.
aa wa-ɛazzuu ɛaleyna l-meyta
Ah and we mourn our dead ones,
aa wa-maa l-mejruuḥ yeddaawa
Ah and the wounded will recover. (Appendix I, LL2 17: 15-18)

(89) wa-maa ṭarṭaaq el-baruut
There are sounds of gun-powder explosions
fe j-jbel de Bni Darkuul
In the mountain of Bni Darkul. (Appendix I, ML 1 27-28)

The lines in examples (87) and (88) are almost identical and example (89) represents a shortened version of this formula. However, the three texts refer to different geographical locations. This formula is very old and was already in use at the beginning of the 20th century. I found it in the publication by Michaux-Bellaire, though unfortunately already translated into French. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the original Arabic text contained the same formula:

(90) Les gerbes de fusils sont dressées au marché de l'Arba
Explosions of gunshots were made in the bazaar of al-Arba (Appendix I, MB *ayta* 5)

In modern life, these topics are not of great relevance, and they should mostly be regarded as marking a purely traditional genre going back to previous times, that now have a symbolic meaning. However, when Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi decided to choose the genre of *ayta* for the song in question, he had a very good reason to do so: the topic is Jerusalem and its occupation by Zionists. As this is close to the theme of warfare, the *ayta*

genre is a logical choice. However, the song's low degree of formulaicity has to do with the audience. As the text of this *ayta* makes clear, the poet is addressing Palestinians and Moroccans, not just the local audience, when he sings:

(91) nuuduu jemɛuu raaskum
Rise and get together!
raa l-Quds ka-yenaadiikum
Jerusalem is calling you!
ɛatkuuh men ɛadyaankum
Defend it from your enemies! (Appendix I, AA 22: 3-5)

It is not surprising then that he avoids words and phrases that would be difficult to understand for Palestinians, or even Moroccans of non-*jebli* origin.

Songs that belong to the genre of *ughniya* are particularly interesting in terms of the use of formulaic language since this genre offers a variety of topics, and relative freedom stylistically. Thanks to this, texts of *ughniya* range from highly formulaic to non-formulaic. Unlike an *ayta*, an *ughniya* offers the singer the choice whether to dedicate the song to a traditional or to a modern topic. One could expect that songs that touch on modern themes will have less formulaic phrases than traditional ones. This is indeed the case with the songs of Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi (songs AA 18-22), which have a very low degree of formulaicity and some of the songs by Mohammed Laaroussi (songs ML 3-5). These songs touch on issues such as emigration, poverty, life abroad and the depopulation of the countryside.

However, there are exceptions: the song *alla yehanniik yaa baaba - May God Bless You, my Father!* (song LL1 9) by Lahcen Laaroussi is also about the hardships of living abroad but it is highly formulaic.

At the same time, the correlation between traditionality and formulaicity is not perfect: there are songs on traditional topics that have only a low or moderate degree of formulaicity. This is the case with Lahcen Laaroussi's song *yimma ṣaabra - Patient Mother* (song LL1 7), about the love for a mother and her patience and endless love for her child, and Latifa Laaroussia's song *muulaay ɛAbdessalaam - Moulay Abdessalam* (song LL2 14), about the Jbala patron-saint, Abdessalam Ben Mshish. It is interesting to note here that although the text of song VII does not have any formulaic lines, it does have a fairly large number of lines with 'formulaic elements'. This is used for particular effect, as will be shown below.

The usage of what I called 'structuring formulas', formulas that are used for building the structure of a song, or to mark the beginning of a song or a chorus as belonging to a tradition, as well as the use of 'formulaic elements'

for this purpose, is an important aspect of formulaic language in Jbala poetry. Together with the music, the usage of such 'structuring formulas' can help the singer to achieve the effect of traditionality, even if the rest of the text is non-formulaic. An example is the traditional beginning for a song in the *ughniya* genre: *aa lalla ilaali/aa wa-yaa lalla illali* (Appendix III, Table A.III.1, no 1): it is used in songs ML 2, ML 3, ML 4, and LL2 13, of which songs ML 3 and ML 4 are characterized by a relatively low degree of formulaicity overall 8% and 10% formulaic lines and 25% and 13% lines with 'formulaic elements', respectively. The following lines (examples (92) and (93)) illustrate how such lines can be used to start an *ughniya*:

(92) yaa lalla ilaali
wa-yaa lalla ilaali
aa yimma dyaali
Ah my Mother!
waaš kaaan sbaabu ghzaali
Why did it happen, my sweetheart? (ML 2: 1,2 CH 1, 2)

(93) aa laalla wa-ilaali
wa-ana ɛabd eghzaali
I am a slave of my sweetheart! (LL2 13 CH)

In my opinion, 'formulaic elements' can perform the same function as traditional openings and choruses discussed in the previous paragraph. They appear to be a very handy and ready-to-use tool, that gives the text an 'authentic flavor' while its usage does not imply any specific requirements. Indeed, what can be easier than just starting a new line with, for instance, the vocative particles *yaa* - 'oh' or *aa* - 'ah'? The lines below (example (94)) illustrate how generally non-formulaic text still sounds very 'traditional' thanks to this technique (the particle is omitted in the English translation because it does not have any semantic value and makes it complicated to understand the English text for those, unfamiliar with Arabic language and this particular tradition):

(94) yaa wa-lilla gheyr ismaɛnii
For God's sake, only listen to me,
el-waad llii jaa yeddiini
The arriving stream will take me
yaa le-mḥabba beynii wa-beyniik
Love is between me and you,
yaa fe klaami ṭaaweɛnii
[just] Listen to my words! (Appendix I, LL1 7: 13-16)

Another 'formulaic element' *maa* or its variant *wa-maa* has two meanings: it can be used as a demonstrative, similar to English 'here', or as a negation particle. I found it can make a song sound even more 'authentic' because it was extensively used in the older texts, and a fair number of 'full' formulas start with it. Earlier in this chapter (see Section 6.2.5) I have discussed instances of using 'formulaic elements' in non-formulaic text, where such elements can a 'decorative' value. The following lines (examples (95) and (96)) illustrate the cases, where already formulaic line starts with this 'formulaic element':

(95) wa-maa š-Šaawen yaa l-xaḍraa
Chefchaouen, oh, the green (Appendix I, LL1 10: 21-24)

(96) maa Tanja yaa l-ɛaalya
Here is Tangier, oh, the high
maa hiya l-ɛaalya be swaariiha
Here it is high with its walls! (Appendix I, AL 26: 15-16)

At the same time, constructions with *maa* and *wa-maa* are also very productive in the everyday speech of Moroccans, which makes this 'formulaic element' very easy to use. A case in point is the poetry of Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi, in which generally non-formulaic poetic lines often start with *maa*:

(97) ana mzaaweg f lla wa-fiik
I am asking God and you,
mši w-aji lla yexalliik
Please go and come back!
maa bqa ḥaad f l-baadiya
No one is left in the countryside,
gheyr l-ḥjaar wa-l-hindiya
Only stones and cacti.
maa tebqa š teṭallaɛ l-kiif
Stop growing kif,
wa-nti msellma w-jeddak šriif
Since you are a Muslim, and your grandfather is a sherif (Appendix I, AA 21, 5-10)

It was not the main purpose of the research to statistically analyze formulas according to traditional classification. There are three observations, however, that are to be made here. The first one concerns what earlier researchers called 'syntactic formulas' (see Section 4.2.2). In the classification used here, they are a subtype of 'content formulas', but I found very few occurrences of this type of formula in the texts (Appendix III, Tables A.III.1,

A.III.2). Monroe (1972: 20-23) and Zwettler (1978: 51-53) emphasize that syntactic formulas are very numerous in Classical Arabic poetry and should be treated with special attention. Since I found so few of them, the question is why, if the role of syntactic formulas has been proven to be of great importance in Classical Arabic poetry, with its strict meter and rhyme requirements, this seems not to be the case for the poetic tradition of the Jbala. Syntactic formulas, according to Zwettler and Monroe are 'phrases, whose morphemic structure is metrically and functionally equivalent' (Zwettler 1978: 51). On the other hand, the poetic tradition of the Jbala does not have any specific metrical requirements, that is to say, unlike in the Classical Arabic poetry, the poet is not bound by any specific meter. On that basis, I see it be more logical to define 'syntactic formulas' as phrases that simply have similar syntactic structure, instead of classifying them as formulas.

The second observation is related to parallelisms, another one of the traditional categories of formulaicity in Arabic poetry. Although they have been described by Lord as 'typical characteristic of some oral traditional poetry' (Lord 1986: 483), they were not included in the classifications of formulas used by Monroe (1972) and Zwettler (1978). Since preliminary analysis of the Jbala poetry turned up some parallelisms, I did include this category in my analysis. However, the main analysis revealed that Jbala singers use parallelisms very scarcely in their poetry. This could probably be explained by the simple assumption that the usage of parallelisms would be a more productive poetic tool in longer pieces of poetry, where the text has a well defined and complicated plot, for instance in epics. I also suggest that this type of formula might occur more often in the traditions that are shared by larger groups of people covering larger areas, since this could give birth to a lot of variations on expressing the same idea. For the Jbala songs, which, on the one hand, are usually quite short, and, on the other hand, are shared by a fairly small fraction of the population of Morocco, the use of parallelisms might be less beneficial.

The final, third, observation concerns 'formulaic elements'. In the Jbala tradition 'formulaic elements' are used fairly often. Most of the texts that have a low percentage of formulaic language, or no formulaic lines at all, do have a considerable number of lines with 'formulaic elements' (Tables 6.3.1 and 6.3.2) For instance, this is the case with Lahcen Laaroussi's song *Patient Mother* (LL1 7): while the text has no formulaic lines, 67% of its lines start with 'formulaic elements'. These include 'formulaic elements' that are easy to use since they always seem to start the line, so that the poet does not have to think about rhyming; at the same time, 'formulaic elements' do not seem to influence the rhythmical pattern as well because they are maximally two syllables long. Another convenient thing about 'formulaic elements' in this

particular tradition is that they often do not have any semantic relevance for the rest of the line, with the exception of *[wa]-maa* used as a negation. This suggests that 'formulaic elements' often play the role of a technical tool that can help convey a traditional flavor.

6.4 Literacy Skills of the Jbala Singers

To answer research question 2, I had to assess the literacy skills of the four singers and then relate the results to the level of formulaicity found in each singer's songs, as presented in from Section 6.2. The literacy skills of the four singers was assessed on the basis of the interviews I had with them, each in different places and at different times, and under different circumstances, as listed in Appendix 2. My earliest personal encounter with a Jbala singer dates back to January 2007, when I first met Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi. This meeting was unplanned and spontaneous, I did not have a recorder with me that day and could only record what I could write down in my notebook. Moroccans are famous even among other Arabs for being very fast speakers, and sometimes my hand could not keep up with the velocity of Abdelmalek's speech. Nevertheless, I consider this interview, which lasted for more than three hours, to be of great importance and help in this research: things told and witnessed on that cold Mediterranean January day first made me pay attention to issues like literacy and formulaicity in Jbala poetry. The result of that interview was over twenty pages of small notes on Abdelmalek, the members of his group, his poetry, his music, the Jbala, and many other things.

Chronologically, the next interview was held in March 2010, when I had a phone conversation with Lahcen Laaroussi. The interview lasted for about twenty minutes, during which I asked Lahcen questions about his education, his musical career, and about some of his songs. The key points of this interview were also written down during our phone conversation.

Finally, in September 2010, during my last visit to Morocco, I met Latifa Laaroussia, who came from Spain to her home town Chefchaouen for *Eid el-Fitr* and Mohammed Laaroussi, who now lives in Fes. Interviews with Latifa and Mohammed were recorded on a digital recorder.

Key information about the interviews with these four singers can be found in Appendix II.

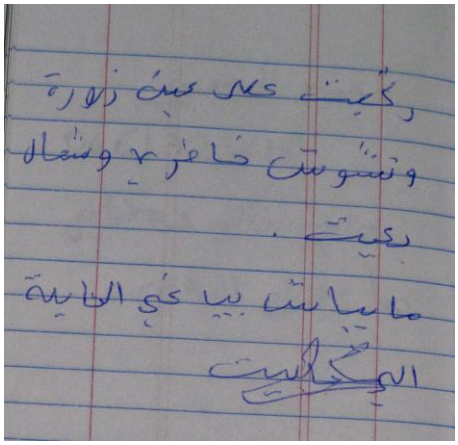
I measure literacy skills of the singers based on the criteria described in Section 4.3, so literacy in this particular case is the ability to fluently read and write in Moroccan Arabic, the language in which Jbala songs are created. Poor or no skills in writing and reading in Standard Arabic, as well as

lack of formal education will not be considered proof of illiteracy. Since knowledge of Standard Arabic is not critical, I did not specifically measure the ability of the singers to read and write it.

6.4.1 Mohammed Laaroussi

Mohammed Laaroussi, who represents the older generation of Jbala singers, never went to school. Actually, he never went to primary school, which was made compulsory for Moroccan children in 1963, but he did attend *kuttab*, or Qur'anic school where he was taught how to read and write, primarily Qur'anic verses (ML: 2, 2010). This kind of education, though quite basic and somewhat lopsided, has been quite widespread, not only in Morocco but everywhere in the Islamic World.

I did not have a chance to check Mohammed's reading skills, but his writing skills he had demonstrated before me were so fluent that I have no doubt he can perfectly handle any reading tasks as well.



Picture 6.1: Mohammed Laaroussi's handwriting; a chorus from one of his songs (Fes, 2010)

I will consider Mohammed *literate*: although he had not received any formal education, he learned how to read and write in the *kuttab.* Mohammed Laaroussi is fluent in reading, writing and understanding texts in Moroccan Arabic. Due to the education received in *kuttab*, he is also fluent in reading Classical Arabic, although he probably might not understand this language fully.

6.4.2 Lahcen Laaroussi

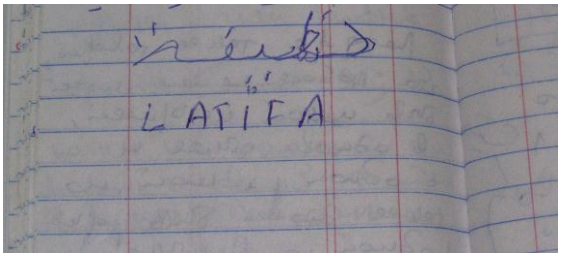
I never had a chance to meet Lahcen Laaroussi in person but I had a phone conversation with him. Other sources of information were other singers I met, who could sometimes confirm or deny my assumptions. Lahcen Laaroussi, born in 1959, finished primary school but decided not to go to secondary education. Over the phone he said that he uses his skills received at school for writing down his poems; he also stated that he reads poetic texts written for him by others (LL1, 2010). This was confirmed by his uncle, Mohammed Laaroussi, who taught him violin and singing at the very beginning of his career. I heard some people claim that Lahcen is totally illiterate,

does not know how to sing, or play violin, and that all his poems were stolen from others. Such statements about authorship and stealing songs always puzzled me a lot. On the one hand, the poetic tradition of the Jbala is in general characterized by high levels of formulaicity, where choruses and even stanzas move freely from one song to another over the course of decades, and from one genre to another. On the other hand, the music in the Jbala songs complies with very strict and limited canons. Certainly, there are exceptions but how can one tell that something has been stolen if the originator and the alleged thief draw on the same source? I can only speculate, but there are reasons for a more positive view regarding Lahcen's abilities: while his uncle, Mohammed Laaroussi, gives the impression of being an honest man, not given to exaggeration, the same cannot be said about others. My impression was that Lahcen is not much loved by his colleagues, not only because they find him an extremely difficult and immoral person, but because he turned out to be rather successful in his musical career: in fact, he is the only Jbala musician whose CD can be purchased from Amazon. This obviously can create a permanent source of annoyance.

I consider Lahcen Laaroussi *literate*, because he went to primary school and, according to himself and to others, he extensively uses his literacy skills, i.e., he demonstrates fluency in reading, writing and understanding what is written in Moroccan Arabic. I assume he can also fluently read in Standard Arabic, even though he perhaps does not understand it to the full extent.

6.4.3 Latifa Laaroussia

One of the key figures of the Jbala musical scene, Latifa Laaroussia, who was born in 1967, is a typical example of an officially 'literate' person whose actual literacy skills, despite having had formal primary education, are very poor. Latifa was born late enough to be eligible for compulsory school education, introduced in Morocco in 1963, so she finished two out of six years of primary school (LL2: 1, 2010) but never had to apply her literacy skills intensively in her everyday life in a rural Moroccan environment. At the age of 39, Latifa emigrated to Malaga, Spain to provide a better future for her four children. While in Spain, she had to attend language classes, where she was taught how to read and write in Spanish (LL2: 1, 2010). I did not take into consideration Latifa's reading and writing skills based on the reasons presented in Section 4.3.



Picture 6.2: Latifa's attempt to write her name in Arabic (Chefchaouen 2010). Her handwriting betrays a non-experienced hand.

Although in the course of our interviews she insisted several times that she used to write down separate stanzas and choruses of her songs just to not forget them (LL2: 1, 2010), she demonstrated very poor writing skills in Arabic (LL2: 1, 2010), and explained that her ability to write in Arabic was heavily damaged by the necessity to speak, write, and read in Spanish. I believe her because, while telling me how she was teaching her friends, who were trying to learn some Arabic, Latifa was using exactly the examples of reading drills known to Arabic students throughout the world. For instance, Latifa demonstrated her acquaintance with the grammatical category of case, which exists only in Standard Arabic and is not used in Moroccan Arabic (LL2: 1, 2010). I could hardly believe that someone who has never done any writing and reading in Arabic since dropping out of primary school over thirty years ago, could still remember these drills.

At the same time Latifa displayed relative fluency in reading Standard Arabic. When she saw my notebook opened on the page where I wrote down several lines I was going to discuss with Latifa that day, she was very quick to read some of them (LL2: 1, 2010).

Following the guidelines introduced in Section 4.3, I consider Latifa Laaroussi semi-literate, in compliance with the UNESCO's understanding of this term (UNESCO 1993: 3), since she only demonstrated fluency in reading and understanding the text in Moroccan Arabic; her writing skills, however, cannot be labeled as fluent.

6.4.4 Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi

Abdelmalek is a typical product of traditional literacy training, as referred to above (see Section 2.5.3 for details). Born in 1946, in a small mountainous village and at the height of the fight for independence, Abdelmalek could not even go to *kuttab* and stayed totally illiterate for some time. Years later, he decided to learn how to read and write in Arabic on his own, a task in which he succeeded very well. During our meeting in 2007, I saw and

thumbed through one of his small notebooks, in which Abdelmalek usually writes down his texts composed in Moroccan Arabic.

Abdelmalek is quite an unusual figure for a Jbala singer. Formally illiterate, at a very early stage of his life he discovered classical European theater and poetry, and I was deeply impressed, if not shocked, when Abdelmalek summarized for me in brief the content of William Shakespeare's Hamlet, and explained the advantages of European poetry over the Jbala variety, namely that it has a plot. According to Abdelmalek, Jbala art, despite all its beauty and charm, lacks a very important component, necessary for success: an intrigue, a plot, or a problem. It is his goal, he said, to change this sad state of affairs and innovate Jbala poetry. I consider Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi *literate*, although he never received any formal school education, since he demonstrated fluency in reading and writing, and understands what is written in Moroccan Arabic. It has been written about Abdelmalek in the local press that he never goes to bed without reading a book first (Mrabet 2012a). I would see it, however, as a slight exaggeration. Abdelmalek can read in Standard Arabic very well, although he probably does not yet completely understand this variety of Arabic.


عبد المالك الأندلسي
نجم العيطة الجبلية

ينتسب عبد المالك الأندلسي إلى مدشر «لندلس» بقبيلة جبل حبيب، والده محمد بن محمد الأندلسي، عاصر حقبة السيبة في شمال المغرب وعايش عصر بالريسون.. وجاهد محمد بن محمد الأندلسي مع مجموعته ضد السيبة والاستعمار الإسباني في شمال المغرب وكان في طليعة المجاهدين جبالة.. تزوج من السيدة "لالا الغالية وتزوج من لالا فاطنة أشمال ونزح معها إلى دوار «هباطة» هناك أنجبت له ولدا من الأسماء اختار له «عبد المالك».. هذا الولد كان يتهرب من السيد ويهاجر من دوار هباطة إلى مسقط رأس والده وأجداده مدشر لندلس، حيث خاله العياشي أشمال الذي كان صانعا لأحزية البلاغي المنتشرة حينها وكان يحب الجلوس في حانوت خاله من أجل الاستماع للأغاني الصادرة من جهاز الراديو إذ أن خاله العياشي أشمال أول من أدخل جهاز

Picture 6.3: Photograph of Abdelamek al-Andaloussi in his study room published in the local newspaper Masaa Tanja (Tangier 2012) (courtesy of Ahmed el-Mrabet)

6.4.5 Level of Literacy of the Four Singers and Formulaicity

The analysis revealed that two out of the four singers, Mohammed Laaroussi and Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi, have good writing and reading skills in Moroccan Arabic. They can be considered to be fully literate according to the definition of literacy suggested by UNESCO, i.e., they are able to create and interpret written materials and make full use of their literacy skills, while participating in the life of their community. Latifa Laaroussia has demonstrated fairly good reading skills in the local variety of Moroccan Arabic, satisfactory writing skills in Spanish, and poor writing skills in Arabic. She can be considered *semi-literate*, since writing in Arabic is quite challenging

for her. Despite the lack of any material proof, Lahcen Laaroussi still can be considered to be literate since this was claimed by himself, and confirmed by his uncle, Mohammed Laaroussi. In favor of this assumption also speaks the fact that Lahcen Laaroussi was born in 1959, so by the time he reached school age, compulsory primary education in Morocco had already been introduced. Consequently, none of the four singers can be called illiterate, as all of them demonstrated familiarity with the written word. Three singers, namely Mohammed Laaroussi, Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi (AA, 2007), and Lahcen Laaroussi (LL1, 2010), freely use their literacy skills in their principal field of activity, i.e., they use writing for creating texts and storing them. All four singers are fluent enough in reading to read poetic texts made for them by others.

This situation perfectly illustrates the drawbacks of a formal approach to measuring literacy (Crystal 1992), where the ability to put one's signature is sufficient proof. As discussed in Section 4.3, with such an approach, only the fact that someone has attended school is regarded as solid proof of literacy. This shows how difficult it is to fully understand and evaluate reality on the basis of mere statistics: Latifa Laaroussia, who formally speaking is a literate person, can hardly write in Arabic, while Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi and Mohammed Laaroussi, who are formally illiterate, have demonstrated absolute fluency in writing and reading in their native language, i.e., Moroccan Arabic.

It is interesting, though, that despite these results, three of the four singers – Mohammed Laaroussi (ML: 1, 2010), Latifa Laaroussia (LL2: 1, 2010), and Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi – when asked if they are literate or not, stated that they were not. Only Lahcen Laaroussi insisted on being literate (LL1, 2010). Probably, the reason for these answers lie in the Moroccan term used to define a literate/illiterate person – *qaari/maa qaarii š*. This term means 'the one, who reads/doesn't read' but also 'the one, who has studied/ has not studied'. Since none of the singers has really studied in the full sense of this word, they preferred to answer with 'no'. Blommaert (2008: 39) concludes, about the material of Congolese grassroots literacy: 'the simple question "can you write?" does not withstand the test of globalisation' and that 'institutional regimes that emphasize uniformity in communication practices will exclude, marginalize and silence people whose repertories do not match the normative expectations.' Indeed, we see how in Moroccan society people who did not have formal education and do not master Standard Arabic coupled with French, readily label themselves as illiterate, only because they feel that the literacy they do possess does not conform to official norms. Nevertheless, this self description should not mislead us.

This means that the four Jbala singers whose poetic texts are the focus of this research are quite different from the Yugoslav bards and Homer, as described by Lord and Perry. Three of them – Mohammed Laaroussi, Lahcen Laaroussi, and Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi – can fluently both read and write in Moroccan Arabic, and Latifa Laaroussia is a fluent reader, hence, they do not need to rely on their memory exclusively to store the texts of their songs.

Although none of the four singers has received a proper formal education, still they cannot be considered illiterate, as was argued at length above. Mohammed Laaroussi went to *kuttab* as a child and he fluently uses his literacy skills in everyday life. Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi learned how to read and write only when he was already an adult, but is clearly fluent is reading and writing. The other two singers – Lahcen Laaroussi and Latifa Laaroussia – who belong to a younger generation, went to primary school. Although Latifa demonstrated some difficulties with writing in the Arabic alphabet, she showed fluency in reading. However, one might suggest that one of the factors that could inhibit her Arabic writing skills is that she now lives in Spain and does not use written Arabic in her everyday life.

Formulaic analysis has shown that three singers – Mohammed Laaroussi, Latifa Laaroussia, and Lahcen Laaroussi – use formulaic language rather extensively. At the same time, their texts demonstrate fluency in composing texts with low or even zero level of formulaicity. Texts by Lahcen Laaroussi have the highest level of formulaicity in the Core Corpus – 69% of lines are formulaic, 15% are lines with 'formulaic elements' – with five songs having high or moderate levels of formulaicity. On the other hand, one song of his had no formulaic lines at all, just some lines with 'formulaic elements'.

Next in line is Latifa, with the level of formulaicity 62%. Two songs are highly formulaic (over 70%), four songs have moderate levels. In this regard, it is interesting to mention here that the song with the lowest level of formulaicity has a very traditional topic: it is dedicated to Moulay Abdessalam, the patron saint of the Jbala. If Latifa was somehow limited in her vocabulary due to her poor literacy skills, one would expect her to use exclusively formulaic phrases at least when she sings about topics traditional in local folklore. Indeed, she could not avoid using some, but did so in fairly moderate quantities.

The average level of formulaicity of texts by Mohammed Laaroussi is low: only 26% of his lines are formulaic, and 20% are lines with 'formulaic elements'; none of Laaroussi's songs is highly formulaic. Four songs have levels of formulaicity from moderate to low and one does not have any formulas at all.

These numbers also argue against the assumption that literacy influences the usage of formulaic language. If this would be the case, one could have

expected Latifa Laaroussia to use formulaic language more extensively because she has limited exposure to the world of the written word, while the example of Mohammed Laaroussi, who is literate and actively uses literacy skills in his profession, shows the opposite pattern: his *ayta* has 35% formulaic lines and 30% lines with 'formulaic elements', one of his songs has 44% of formulaic lines and 6% of lines with 'formulaic elements'. That said, up to half of lines in his texts can be formulaic, i.e., literacy does not keep him from using formulaic language in his texts.

The most interesting case, perhaps, is Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi, who, according to official records, can be considered the least literate of the four singers, but who seems to avoid using formulaic language. The average level of formulaicity in his texts is very low: the texts do contain formulaic lines but the level fluctuates between 0% and 31%, most of the instances, moreover, only involve 'formulaic elements' (lines with 'formulaic elements' constitute up to 39% of any text). In general, his use of formulas looks more incidental than systematic. Using traditional Jbala tunes, and being an obviously affectionate proselytizer of Jbala art and heritage, this singer has made his choice in favor of non-formulaic language since that, as he believes, fits best the modern issues reflected in his texts: emigration, politics, patriotism.

It is obvious then that when the Jbala singer decides to use or avoid formulaic language in his poetic texts, his decision is not affected by his literacy skills. That enables me to suggest that there must be other factors that condition the singer's choices regarding the use of formulaic language. Section 6.5 will go into what these factors can be will as such formulate an answer on research question 3: 'What are the contextual factors and conditions that influence the choice of a modern Jbala poet in favor of the use of formulaic language in his songs?'

6.5 Context Factors

To answer research question 3, I have used both my own material, including poetic texts and interviews held with the Jbala singers, and the findings of other researchers from various backgrounds. The question is, if literacy is not an issue, then what does make a singer decide to use or forgo formulaic language? Above, I argued that the genres themselves, being an important context component, put some constraints on the poet's freedom (Section 4.4), but there are other factors that play important roles as well. In Section 4.4, I suggested that the society the singer belongs to and his cultural background are yet another important context component. Indeed, what could lower the usage of formulaic language, for example, could be the recent exposure of

the Jbala to other Moroccan, Arabic, and Western cultures, or more in general to globalization and its accompanying processes that are dramatically changing our world (see Section 4.4). There is no doubt that modernization has a considerable impact on the life of traditional societies, on their language, culture, and music. I emphasize once more, that it would be a mistake to think that the Jbala people until recent times lived an isolated life, and had no cultural contacts with neighboring areas and people living there.

As is often the case with former Western colonies, Moroccans, and the Jbala people in particular, have unfairly 'enjoyed' the reputation of people whose intellectual and cultural development was so poor compared to the European one that hardly any good words could be used to describe them. For instance, Michaux-Bellaire characterizes the Jbala as follows: *Les Djebala sont d'une mentalité assez primitive et le niveau de leur intellectualité n'est pas très élevé* - 'the Jbala people have a rather primitive mentality and their intellectual level is quite low'. He then adds that they are gloomy, unsociable people, who strive to keep independence by all means and refuse even to trade with strangers (Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 143). However, as has been discussed in Section 4.4, there is evidence that even in the past the Jbala did not live in isolation, and they were fairly well acquainted with neighboring poetic and musical traditions. For instance, in his publication on a religious song from Beni Waryaaghel in the Jbala region, Levi-Provencal notes that people from Fes enjoy the reputation among the Jbala of being connoisseurs of fine literature. In addition, he classifies the subject of his publication as *malhun*, a piece of folk poetry widely spread all over Morocco and other countries of the Greater Maghreb. A prayer that lists names of various local saints, this religious song geographically covers the regions of the Jbala, Fes, Hauz, and Sus (Levi-Provencal 1918: 218). Even a quick look at the text of this song (Levi-Provencal 1918: 219-225) shows that structurally this lengthy piece of poetry is substantially different from *ayta*s, *ughniya*s, and *ayyuu*s.

Therefore, it can safely be assumed that already a hundred years ago, Jbala poets were exposed to other poetic styles and traditions, and were relatively free, within the limits of their cultural environment, to choose when and where to apply which style. That is, the Jbala were acquainted with the poetic traditions of their geographical neighbors and performed not only their own songs but also the ones of their neighbors.

It seems that this state of affairs has only expanded geographically with time: each singer mentioned that along with the Jbala songs he also performs in other styles, like *shaabi* and even *sharqi*, the pop music style from the East of the Arab World, mostly from Egypt and Lebanon (LL2: 2, 2010, ML: 1, 2010). Indeed, there are a number of cassettes and discs circulating in the musical. As was most likely already the case a century ago, modern Jbala

singers are acquainted with a number of genres and other traditions, and choose freely what and how they will perform. For as long as we can go back in history, they have not been limited to the poetic dictionary of the Jbala genres, and the set of formulas that goes with them.

Nevertheless, given the context in which the Jbala poetic tradition is lived, I suggest that the reason why singers may choose to use formulaic language is *the need or desire to sound jebli*. It is important to emphasize that, despite the focus on lyrics in this thesis, a singer usually has at least two tools to achieve this: formulaic language and music. Unlike the case of the Yugoslav guslars, who used musical instruments only to accompany their singing, the Jbala tradition sees music as an important and necessary part of any performance. As a result, a Jbala singer who wants to perform in the Jbala style, can either choose to use both formulaic language and traditional music, or only the music, combining it with novel lyrics. Another option would be to combine the music with a 'structuring formula', i.e., formulas that are usually used as the traditional beginning or the chorus (see Section 4.2.3). This suggestion is supported by the fact that all the songs in the Core Corpus are performed within the canons of the Jbala music, while only some of the texts are formulaic. Therefore, to perform in the Jbala style, all singers found it necessary to retain the Jbala tunes, but they demonstrated that it is possible to use non-formulaic language while creating new texts for these tunes.

Elaborating on this, I would suggest that another factor that can condition the choice of singers in favor of or against formulaic language in this particular tradition is the *necessity to satisfy the aesthetic needs of the audience*. The context of the performance constrains the freedom to choose what to perform, and *the need* or *desire to sound jebli* may be more or less strong. Despite participating in various festivals throughout Morocco, the Islamic World and Europe, Jbala singers mostly perform for a Jbala audience, and the Jbala audience mostly wants to listen to Jbala music. This assumption echoes Kuiper's (2000) ideas on the use of formulaic language in everyday speech, stating that formulas are usually linked to certain discourse types, i.e., genres, within which they acquire their specific meaning (Kuiper 2000: 296). In other words, formulas become formulas when they are continuously used within the genre they are associated with. The Jbala audience understands and values these poetic lines and specific tunes and wants them to be repeated over and over again.

I assume, on this basis, that singers may want to use traditional lines widely known by the audience, lines from old Jbala songs. Interestingly, Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi, who obviously tries to take the Jbala art outside its traditional boundaries but also has to satisfy the aesthetic needs of his

audience, has chosen the opposite path. In his attempts to become popular among a larger and less homogenous audience, he avoids using a great deal of Jbala formulaic language, as well as lexicon that might sound 'too *jebli*'. While the texts of other singers contain a number of words from the Jbala variety of Moroccan Arabic, such as *qayṭuuna* - 'tent' (LL2 16: 6), *garn* - 'braid' (ML 1: 42), *ɛaayla* - 'girl' (LL1 10: 31, LL1 11: 31), Abdelmalek avoids using some forms that are typical of the Jbala variety, e.g., the frequentative prefix *la-* and the 2nd person personal pronoun *ntiina*, for which he uses it's the more generally used form *nta/nti*, which can be understood by other Moroccans. Unique Jbala forms would be too inaccessible for other Moroccans, of non-Jbala origin, and perhaps come across as too exclusive. There are a number of programs on Moroccan television that show Moroccan folklore, both in Arabic and Amazigh languages, from all over the country: Sous, Marrakech, Nador, Fes, to mention just a few. For a example, Moroccan TV channels always broadcast the most important musical and folklore events, among them annual festivals Mawazine, Festival de Fès des Musiques Sacrées du Monde, Le Festival Gnaoua et des musiques du Monde d'Essaouira and Festival d'Imilchil. Jbala singers are regularly invited to participate in such festivals and, hence, can be seen on TV on a regular basis. Although such programs enjoy popularity among the Moroccan audience, they are usually seen only as a folklore show, something to make Moroccans proud of living in a culturally diverse country. The popularity of these folklore groups cannot be compared, however, to the popularity that groups like *Nass El Ghiwane* and *Jil Jilala* once enjoyed. These groups, that appeared on the Moroccan musical stage in the 1970's, combined traditional dialectal poetry *malhun* and traditional sounds with rhythm and blues. They became exceptionally popular not only in Morocco but throughout the Maghreb countries because their dialect was easy to understand and their texts contained subtle criticism of socio-political issues.

In the course of the interviews that I held with the Jbala singers, I noticed that they often talk about the process of creating a song in quite a technical way, and refer to the usage of certain expressions or musical devices as mechanical tools they use in doing their job. This suggests that singers may see formulaic language as a tool they can use to build up a text in the Jbala style. For instance, to illustrate the creation process of a new song, Latifa Laaroussia mentioned two lines that can be seen as formulaic:

(96) aana ṭaalba l-muḥaami
I am in need of a lawyer
wa-ana raajli ɛayyaani
because my husband made me sick (LL2: 2, 2010)

Then she shifts to a story about the unfair treatment she received from a recording studio in Morocco, where she was offered to sign a fake rip-off contract. While describing how she managed to make a song for this studio, and at the same time get rid of any obligations, according to which the rights to each song she creates would belong to the studio, she produced the following lines:

(97) aana ṭaalba l-muḥaami
I am in need of a lawyer
wa-aana š-Šaraɛ ɛayyaani
because as-Sharaa [owner of the studio] made me sick (LL2: 2, 2010)

These lines show how Latifa uses the same formulaic expression to produce a new text by simply changing the word *raajli* - 'my husband' to the name of the owner of the studio, in order to humiliate him. At the same time, structurally, this phrase also looks similar with the line *yaa wa-naṭlub rabbi l-ɛaali* - 'And I am asking [a favor] from my Lord, the Exalted!' (Appendix I, LL1 6: 3). Latifa's example of how she makes up a song by making slight changes to well-known within this tradition formulaic lines is reminiscent of Mohammed Laaroussi's and other singers' explanations on how they play music, which timing they choose, which rhythm, etc.

On the whole, such deliberate and pragmatic usage of formulaic language is reminiscent of one of the observations made by Foster (2004), who introduced the idea of 'formulas' in music that was discussed in Section 2.4. Foster compared jazz musicians to the Yugoslavian epic singers in order to prove that musically literate jazz musicians use a set of musical formulaic phrases. Hence, musical literacy does not prevent jazz musicians from using their ability to improvise. In the interviews the jazz musicians compared their use of *licks*, or *figurations* to words and phrases in human speech. Foster concludes that functionally these musical tools play a role similar to the one played by formulas in epic poetry (Foster 2004: 163, 168, 170).

Another interesting comment made by one of the musicians Foster interviewed, in connection with klezmer music, reveals that although klezmer music is traditional by definition, the musicians are allowed to use new material and mix klezmer melodies with other rhythms. They are also supposed to play what their audience would like to hear, so that some songs would sound more and some less traditional (Foster 2004: 168). This is very much in line with what I have noticed in the Jbala musical tradition, where musicians, even when they have a relative freedom to vary in music and text, prefer not to stray too far, since they are also dependent on their audience and do not want to lose it.

So far, I focused on the possible factors that can make singers choose formulaic language, but to get the full picture, we also need to look at the reasons why a Jbala singer may want to avoid formulaic language while performing a Jbala song. As mentioned, when a singer decides to create a song in the Jbala style, he usually has Jbala musical canons and formulaic language to rely on and, unlike in the Yugoslavian epic tradition, tune, instrumentation and rhythm are of great importance (see Section 3.2.2). The following examples illustrate this.

A number of the songs in the Core Corpus are textually quite different from what can be called traditional Jbala poetry, and they do not contain any lines that are formulaic. Some of these songs, however, do contain a fair number of lines that start with 'formulaic elements'. In addition, they are performed in the traditional Jbala style and are recognized by locals as *toraath diyaalna* - 'our heritage'. These songs are: ML 5 (by Mohammed Laaroussi), LL1 7 (by Lahcen Laaroussi), LL2 14 (by Latifa Laaroussia) and AA 18-22 (by Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi). Apparently, the melodies and rhythm alone can be enough for the local ear to identify a song as belonging to the authentic local heritage. In other words, if a singer wants to perform in the Jbala style, he can choose from *two different types of formulas: textual and musical*. It is the singer's choice whether to use both types or just one, and to what degree.

In the Jbala singing tradition using *musical formulas* would mean first of all sticking to the musical structure established a long time ago (see Section 3.2.2). Never would a Jbala performer skip a *frash* or an intro, and never would he finish his song without a *ghta* or a final part. Although during recent times local singers started to experiment with sounds while recording their albums in modern studios, the farthest they can go is to use sound effects and reverberation, but they would never dare to experiment with the musical structure and the key instruments, such as the violin and the *swissen*, a local variant of the lute. For instance, this is how Latifa Laaroussia explains what is necessary to make a song a success: *kull ughniya ɛandha addaa diyaalha… keyn l-ughniya ka-teɛṭiik waaḥed haada… ḍaruuri xeṣṣak teɛmilha ši laɛba… ši duxla ḥaziina… taqsiim b waaḥḥed ḥanaan… b waaḥed haada f… fhamti? lli ghaadi tḥiss bi ntiina… baaš maa nti ghaadi- tghanni wa-gha-tḥiss diik l-ughniya raaha ka-tɛallem f l-qalb* - 'Each song has its own way of playing… there are songs that can give you [different feelings]… but you must make a sort of play in each song, an intro, understand? A solo improvisation with some sort of tenderness… with some… you see? Something that you will feel that… when you sing, you will feel that this song is hurting your heart' (LL2: 2, 2010).

In other words, Latifa emphasizes the necessity of having a special 'sad' intro in the beginning of each song, which certainly can and should differ from one musical piece to another, but it always should be there and it always should be sad. To use Foster's jazz terminology, a performer has to use one of the *licks* and *figurations* imposed by the genre limits, circumscribing some of the musical structure, timing and general character.

Similarly, Mohammed Laaroussi describes the possible variations within an *ayta*, the most popular genre of the Jbala tradition. Although sometimes in a quite ironical manner, Laaroussi defines the local and personal limits that should not be crossed while playing an *ayta*. Among them are: eight *nawbas*, regional variations of *iqaa* (*iqaaɛ*), or timing, and regional and personal variations of using *duunaat* and *chiikaat*, or stressed and unstressed beats. Relative freedom can be achieved by using various melodic patterns (*laḥn*), and modulations (*intiqaal*).

This discussion on the use of formulaic language in traditional poetry, in the context of a constantly changing modern world, would not be complete without finally touching on the general issue of creativity and traditionalism in art. As discussed in Section 3.2.2, Jbala poetry is a traditional genre and, naturally, it imposes on the poet a lot of requirements. At the same time, it is important to understand that tradition, or being traditional, does not necessarily mean that one cannot be creative. On the contrary, tradition just sets ideals and goals for artists, and helps them to master their skills (Carroll 2007: 217). That is to say that it mostly depends on the artist's personality which path to follow and to what degree: to explore and even push the limits of the tradition, or to carefully polish the norms and techniques that have been created by predecessors. Applying this understanding to the four singers that have been the main focus of this research, will make it clear that, indeed, it is the artist's personal, signature style that makes him follow or disobey the genre requirements. All four singers work and create within the Jbala tradition but there are two extremes: Lahcen Laaroussi's texts are in general highly formulaic, and those of Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi are practically without formulas. The biography of the latter suggests a rebellious character: Abdelmalek taught himself to read and write at home, when he was already an adult He has read Shakespeare's plays, and worked for a theater in Tangier. For such a person, the limits set by the Jbala tradition may well be too narrow: he chooses to challenge the textual traditions, while being fairly traditional musically. On the other hand, Lahcen Laaroussi's songs are highly formulaic both musically and textually. Again, Lahcen's biography suggests why: he went to primary school, learned the Jbala tradition in early childhood from his famous uncle Mohammed, became popular among the Jbala audience (LL1, 2010), and even recorded an album with

traditional *aytas* and *ughniyas* in France, which is quite an achievement for a *jebli* singer. Consequently, while this singer certainly has at his disposal possibilities to experiment with tradition and to challenge its norms, he does not do so. Might it be because he has his own style that has proven to be a success, that he feels more comfortable being traditional in order to keep his audience, than to experiment with words and sounds?

To summarize, it is not literacy that makes singers turn to or avoid formulaic language, it is the genre in which they choose to work. As discussed in Section 4.4, agree with Blommaert who noticed that each genre has three important features: (1) formal characteristics of communicative events; (2) expectations they generate and (3) the responsive behavior they suggest (Blommaert 2008: 44). In the case of the Jbala tradition, each time a local singer chooses the genre within which he is going to perform, he is bound by the expectations of his audience, i.e., he needs to get positive feedback. Once the choice is made, the singer is automatically bound by the canons and requirements of that particular genre, including formulaicity, whether verbal or musical. Failure to attend to those requirements might cause them to lose their audience and, hence, harm them professionally. However, it is obviously the singer's signature style that he has been mastering through the many years of hard work that conditions how traditional he or she sounds.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions and Discussion

This chapter summarizes the findings of this thesis and examines the reasons behind the lack of a clear relation between literacy and the usage of formulaic language. It then discusses the factors that determine whether or not a singer uses formulaic language. Finally, the chapter suggests future directions for studies of formulaic language in oral poetry.

7.1 Summary of Conclusions

This study shows that there is no direct connection between the singers' literacy levels and their reduced or increased use of formulaic language in the songs of the four modern Jbala singers – Mohammed Laaroussi, Latifa Laaroussia, Lahcen Laaroussi and Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi. It also supports the idea that there is no 'good' or 'bad' literacy as applied to writing in any variety of non-Standard, in this case Moroccan, Arabic that does not have any officially established grammatical and syntactic rules. The study also contributes to a better understanding of defining the concept of formulaic language and supports the idea that formulaicity can be both verbal and musical.

Three singers out of four that have been investigated have been considered literate in accordance to the definition of literacy accepted by UNESCO: Mohammed Laaroussi, Lahcen Laaroussi, and Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi. These three, although, possibly not fluent in understanding texts in Standard Arabic, have demonstrated good literacy skills in the local variety of Moroccan Arabic. Since good knowledge of Standard Arabic is not required for successful application of their literacy skills in everyday and professional life, poor knowledge of it should not be used as a negative factor while establishing their ability to read and write. On the other hand, Latifa Laaroussia, who now resides in Spain, demonstrated very poor writing skills and satisfactory reading skills in Moroccan Arabic, as well as relative fluency in reading and writing in Spanish, and has been classified as a semi-

literate native speaker of Moroccan Arabic, since she cannot fully benefit from her writing and reading skills in this very language in her everyday and professional life each time she comes back home to Morocco.

The study suggests that instead of the literacy/illiteracy factor, the condition that can, though not necessarily will, influence a singer's decision whether or not to use formulaic language is the context or the canons of the genre in the framework of which the singer is creating a text or a melody. Should he desire to be more traditional, he will opt for already existing phrases and sentences that are also easy recognizable for his audience, which is very important for any singer or musician whose well-being entirely depends on his popularity. This is the case with Lahcen Laaroussi, whose texts almost never go beyond the limits of formulaic language, Latifa Laaroussia, who also extensively uses formulas in her texts but experiments with musical accompaniment in order to give her songs a touch of modernity, and Mohammed Laaroussi, who, being a traditionalist, simply wants his songs, both texts and music, sound jebli and not anything else. Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi, however, who also attempts to achieve the goal of keeping his popularity, follows a totally different logic: trying to gain a wider, non-Jbala, audience, he decides not to use formulaic language in his texts at all so that they become understandable for everyone who speaks Moroccan Arabic.

To illustrate the importance of genre requirements and the impact of these requirements on formulaicity, I emphasize once again that the idea that usage of formulaic language will considerably increase if the genre is traditional and does not offer the singer a basis for experimenting with new topics and vocabulary. This is the case with the genre of ayta that, being a purely traditional genre, contains the highest percentage of formulas in the texts analyzed, i.e., over 50%. The genres of ughniya or ayyuu, on the contrary, offer the singer a certain freedom of choice and, hence, texts made in these genres can be anything from highly formulaic to not formulaic at all.

This study has concluded that the poets from the Jbala area have been enjoying the freedom to choose what to perform within the limits of their cultural environment for a long time, i.e., Jbala singers are not, and have never been, bound to only one vocal and musical tradition, and in creating songs and performing them, they are free to choose the genre. This conclusion has enabled me to suggest that there are two factors that can determine a singer's choice in favor of or against formulas and, hence, the choice whether to be traditional or creative. These factors are (1) the need or desire to sound jebli and (2) the necessity to satisfy the aesthetic needs of the audience. Although Lord (1960: 137) seemed to have a negative attitude towards literate singers, who actively use writing in their professional life and

take part in folk festivals wearing folk costumes, calling them 'counterfeits', today and in the light of the changes in the approach to the role of literacy and its effect on the human cognitive skills (see Section 2.5.2), I would assume that it is the folk festival and the folk costume together with a set of certain formulaic phrases and expressions that often allow the singer to identify himself as a part of a certain genre or tradition. On the other hand, what the singer performs and how he does it, is to a large degree dictated by his audience and if he wants to keep it, he will probably have no other way but to use the words and tunes that his audience values.

Apart from defining the above two factors that determine the degree of formulaicity, this study also suggested to look at formulaic language from a different perspective, i.e., as a technical tool that helps singers to produce a poetical text. This is in line with Lord's concept of formulaic language but it has more technical meaning added to it. That is to say, that singers use formulaic language not because they have nothing else at their disposal. I suggest that they refer to it consciously because they know that it will fit well in the song or that it will be liked by the audience. This partly explains why literate singers can use formulaic language extensively, while Lord's idea was that a singer who 'has accepted the idea of a fixed text is lost to oral traditional process', and that such singers are 'reproducers rather than recreators' (Lord 1960: 137).

This study, following Foster (2004), used the concept of a musical formula. Unlike the jazz improvisations studied by Foster, the Jbala tradition is a vocal genre and, generally, implies both singing and playing musical instruments. The suggestion is that the Jbala singers have considerable freedom of choice: not only can they choose whether or not to use formulaic language, but they can also choose between two varieties of formulas: verbal and musical. A case in point is Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi, who, once he chose to popularize Jbala music for the vast Moroccan audience, had to sacrifice the language, i.e., jebli Moroccan Arabic, and shift to a sort of koineised Moroccan Arabic (see Section 2.5.3 for details) in order to make his songs understandable throughout the country. His music however, sounds very traditional and is performed according to traditional canons established for the genre, that is, Abdelmalek actively uses musical formulas, since , within a certain cultural context, the language of music is easy for everyone to understand.

7.2 Discussion

Theories like the Theory of the Great Divide mostly dealt and keep dealing with non-Western cultures as the focus of their research. This enables one to suggest that they were to a large degree influenced by the ethnocentric descriptions of non-Western cultures left by 19th century scholars, who often concurrently held the position of scholar and army officer, or at least were on a special mission, in other words, they were French spies (Amster 2013: 90). As I mentioned in Chapter 5, the colonization of Morocco became possible thanks to the information collected by La Mission Scientifique au Maroc (see Section 5.3.2). Such scholars often portrayed local populations as barbarians with primitive cultures that need to be civilized by the West. In Section 6.5, I already cited the negative judgement of Michaux-Bellaire on the intellectual level of the Jbala people. This is one of many similar descriptions and it shows the attitude then dominant in the scholarly world. It should be no surprise then that theories appeared that claim there is a dramatic difference between literate and illiterate minds; moreover, the understanding of literacy itself, including the concepts of 'good' and 'bad' literacy, developed on the same grounds.

Jbala poetry is, generally speaking, a genre that has succeeded to survive through centuries until today because it has found the right balance between formulaicity and traditionality on the one hand, and creativity and novelty on the other hand. It is up to the artist in what proportion he wants to keep this balance. Up to a point, creativity may 'kill' formulaicity, allowing the creation of pieces of art that are different from anything that has been created before.

Indeed, the study has shown that the decision whether or not to use formulaic language is first of all conditioned by the context in which a poet or a musician is going to perform, and the poet is clearly building on musical and lyrical traditions. Hence, formulaic language will stay alive as long as the tradition that utilizes this language is alive. Formulaic vocabulary that has once been shaped within a certain genre can probably even live much longer, although probably not wholly, either in its pure condition, or transformed into something new through mixing with other genres. History shows a lot of examples where genres that belong to cultures which vanished long ago, are remembered for centuries. For example, in connection to the Arab world, it is striking that Andalusian music is performed today in strict compliance with canons and traditions formulated over seven hundred years ago. In connection with Western culture, one could also mention the klezmer tradition, and country music. One might predict that the same will

happen to the poetic formulas of Jbala poetry, which, over time, may integrate into new emerging genres.

7.3 Further Research

Literacy

This study has shown that there is no link between being literate and reduced use of formulaicity in a singer's poetic text. At the same time, it has contributed to a deeper understanding of the concept of literacy and the forms it takes, and has demonstrated the necessity for further studies on literacy, especially in the field of Arabic language.

I have shown that even deciding whether a particular Arabic native speaker is literate or not can be a complicated task. There is a need for the development of a thorough up-to-date classification of the Arabic language and its variants, and to review the old ideas on 'high' and 'low' varieties of Arabic language that are so well-entrenched in the scholarly world (see Section 2.5.3), inspired as they are by Medieval and Colonial experiences. These ideas gave birth to the concepts of 'good' and 'bad' literacies widely used in the non-Western world. There have been steps in this direction in work on the literacy material of other cultures and languages, for instance of Iran by Street and of the Congo by Blommaert (see Section 2.5.2), and these examples have been met with a good deal of enthusiasm in the scholarly world, inspiring a lot of similar research. In the case of the Arab world, however, the situation turned out to be more complicated. Voices can be heard that call for acknowledging independent languages, for instance Moroccan darija (Laroui 2010), instead of referring to them as Arabic dialects. This could lead to the gradual re-evaluation of literacy practices in the region. However, there has not been consistent scholarly work in this direction.

Reviewing the status of the Arabic language is a fairly challenging and sensitive project due to its special status as the language of the Holy Qur'an maintained not only in the Arab but throughout the Islamic world. It requires an understanding of the processes currently taking place in the Middle East and expertise on the history of the Middle Eastern region, paired with impartiality and lacking any bias inspired by political and religious preferences. Whatever the final result of this work will be, it will definitely contribute to a re-evaluation of the concept of literacy as applied to the Arabic language.

Formulaicity

Although my study strongly suggests that literacy does not have an impact on the use of formulaic language in the particular tradition of the Jbala, there are still a lot of other questions to be addressed regarding formulaicity. My analysis allowed a broad outline of the factors and conditions that influence a singer's decision whether or not to use formulaic language, and which type of formula to use – verbal or musical. The study follows up on a suggestion made by Wray (2008), to interpret formulaic language in oral poetry in the light of the use of formulaic language in everyday interaction. 'Formulaic language' is one name for the many fixed units, collocations and all kinds of other lexical chunks that characterize language use, but have received little attention in linguistics until recently (Wray 2005, 2008, 2012; Kuiper 1996, 2000, 2009). As shown in the previous chapters (see Section 2.4), there are some substantial differences between formulaic language in poetry and formulaic language in everyday conversation. In particular, the metrical and rhyme requirements that play an essential role in most poetic genres force particular kinds of formulas not found in everyday speech. Also, studies on formulaic units in everyday speech as carried out in cognitive linguistics imply work with large corpora, while in the field of poetics it is not always possible to collect enough material to ensure that the material can be analyzed statistically. This task seems to be especially complicated in the case of non-epic, i.e., non-lengthy pieces of poetry that are also not easy to get access to, and this is the case with the Jbala genres. For these two reasons, I did not attempt to provide a representative survey of all formulaic language in the poetry of the Jbala. While formulas in oral poetry are thus quite different from formulas in everyday speech, since they serve different purposes, still they have a lot in common, too. There is a lot of potential for studying formulaic language in oral poetry in connection with other research on formulas.

A first step in this direction is currently being taken by Cristóbal Pagán Cánovas (University of Murcia, Spain) and Mihailo Antović (University of Niš, Serbia), who launched a project in October 2012 on the formulaicity in oral poetics, at the FRIAS School of Language & Literature. The project is called 'Towards a Cognitive Oral Poetics: Traditional Epic and Cognitive Linguistics'.[1] This interdisciplinary project aims, among other things, at applying theories of cognitive linguistics to the formulaic analysis of epics and everyday speech and to contribute to the foundation of a new discipline – cognitive oral poetics. Despite its name, this discipline will have very little to do with the formulaic analysis performed by cognitive linguists, first of all,

[1] *http://www.frias.uni-freiburg.de/institute/pressreleases/pressemitteilung.2012-04-17.8343287125*

Wray. Instead, cognitive oral poetics will involve the semantic, not cognitive, analysis of the poetic texts coupled with the analysis of the audience's perception of those texts. I consider this a groundbreaking project since it provides the starting point for interdisciplinary research in the study of formulaicity. Worth mentioning is that the study also aspires to provide input to our knowledge about the origins of music, language and song, as integral products of human cognitive activities.

This revival of the interest in the Parry-Lord theory shows that there are many things in this theory that are yet to be re-visited and re-applied. This also implies that in order to arrive at a better and more detailed understanding of the mechanisms that activate or deactivate usage of formulaic language, much work needs to be done and, perhaps, the future of formulaic studies is in interdisciplinary research that will include experts in poetics, cognitive linguists, neurolinguists, enthnographers, anthropologists, and musicologists, just to mention a few.

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APPENDIX I

Text of Songs

This Appendix contains texts of 27 songs, where Songs 1-22 are composed by the four authors whose poetry is the main focus of study in my research and, hence, constitute the Core Corpus. Songs 1-5 belong to Mohammed Laaroussi, in the text of the research they are marked as ML 1, ML 2, ML 3, ML 4 and ML 5 respectively. Songs 6-11 belong to Lahcen Laaroussi and they are marked as LL1 6, LL1 7, LL1 8, LL1 9, LL1 10 and LL1 11 respectively, Songs 12-17 to Latifa Laaroussia and they marked as LL2 12, LL2 13, LL2 14, LL2 15, LL2 16 and LL2 17 respectively, and Songs 18-22 to Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi and they are marked as AA 18, AA 19, AA 20, AA 21 and AA 22 respectively.

The Secondary Corpus serves as additional material that is used to extend the corpus of formulaic phrases used in the Jbala poetry and it has two parts. Secondary Corpus I (Songs 23-27) contains songs that belong to Mohammed al-Ghiyathi, Mohammed al-Ayachi, Rhimou Ouazzania, Abdelhaq Laaroussi, and Abdessalam al-Khomsi respectively. In the text of the research they are marked as MG 23, MA 24, RO 25, AL 26 and AKH 27 respectively.

To ease for the reader's eyes the process of perception of these texts, key structural components such as Prelude, Chorus, and Stanza are written in italics. If the text has only one chorus, it is indicated only at the first place of occurrence and all additional information, if there is any, is given in footnotes. If the text has several choruses and they do not follow any formal pattern, choruses are numbered just like stanzas and indicated according to each place of each occurrence.

Secondary Corpus II contains lines from the songs collected by Biarnay (Biarnay 1924: 105-110) and Michaux-Bellaire (Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 153-155). Although in the original publication the text is divided into two poetic lines, I divided it into four because it reflects the actual division into lines used in the Jbala poetic tradition.

An exception are the excerpts of *aytas* that are given by Michaux-Bellaire in French translation (MB Ayta 1-MB Ayta 5). I left them exactly as they were published in the original but counted each line for two. *Ayyuus* collected by Michaux-Bellaire are marked MB 1-MB 8, *ayyuus* collected by Biarnay are marked B 1-B 21.

The texts in the Core Corpus and Secondary Corpus I are in two languages, the Jbala variety of Moroccan Arabic and English, where the original in Arabic is written using simplified Arabic transcription. All lines, that also serve as a minimal formulaic unit, are numbered and the Arabic line is immediately followed by its English translation. I tried to make the translation as close to the original as possible, however, in some cases I omitted excessive exclamations and conjunctions, typical for Arabic language in general and this musico-poetical genre in particular.

Where song starts with a meaningless *début de la chanson*, for instance, *aa lalla ilaali wa-yaa lalla ilaali*, which can be compared to the Western *tra-la-la*, it is left without translation.

The texts in Secondary Corpus II are also given as described above with the exception of *aytas* published by Michaux-Bellaire. These five excerpts from *aytas* were published by the author in French, so I also had to give them in French followed by their English translation.

Footnotes of ethnographical and linguistic character are quite numerous, however, without them the comprehension of these texts would be rather complicated.

Song ML 1: Ayta Bni Darkuul – 'Ayta of Tribe Bni Darkul'
(Mohammed Laaroussi)

Prelude
1 wa-zaawiya de Bni Darkuul
1 The *zawiya*[1] of Bni Darkul[2]
Chorus 1[3]
1 wa-lla wa-maalkum yaa l-aḥbaab
1 What is wrong with you my friends?
2 temma r-raajil mekmuul
2 There is a perfect man there.
3 Tamsniit wa-hiya be d-Dra
3 Tamasnit[4] is located in ed-Dra,[5]
Chorus 1
4 zuuru l-waalii dyaalkum
4 Visit [the shrine] of your patron saint,
5 siidii ɛAbdelwaarit
5 Sidi Abdelwaarit.[6]
6 wa-maa siidii ɛAbdallaa
6 Here is Sidi Abdalla,[7]
Chorus1
7 wa-maa mḍowwar be ṣafṣaaf
7 [His shrine] is surrounded with poplar trees.
8 wa-maa-na ḥbuusi be lla
8 God will suffice me.
Chorus 2
1 wa-maalkum yaa l-graan
1 What is wrong with you my companions?
9 wa-maa ɛandi mnaaš nxaaf
9 I have nothing to be afraid of,
10 šey illa haa l-waalii
10 This saint is highly respected -
11 siidii ɛAbdelwaarit
11 Sidi Abdelwarit.
Chorus 1
12 zghaar yaa siidii ɛAllaal
12 Sidi Allal[8], they are [still] small,

---

[1] *zawiy*a, here a Sufi place of worship.
[2] Bni Darkul, a minor tribe located in the territory of Lakhmas (Mouliéras 1899: 119).
[3] Chorus 1 has the following variants: (1) *wa-lla wa-maalkum yaa l-Hbaab*; (2) *wa-hyaa wa-maalkum yaa-l-Hbaab*; (3) *wa-llaa wa-maalkum aa-l-aHbaab*.
[4] Tamasnit, a small village located in the territory of Bni Zerwaal (Mouliéras 1899: 89).
[5] ed-Dra or supposedly Wad Awdar, a river located in the territory of Bni Zerwal (Mouliéras 1899: 89).
[6] Sidi Abdelwariit, one of the saints of Bni Zerwaal (Mouliéras 1899: 74).
[7] Sidi Abdalla, unidentified.

13 arbaɛ a de l-xulafaa
13 The four caliphs,
Chorus 1
14 kullhum fe Bni Zerwaal
14 All of them in Bni Zerwal.[9]
Chorus 3
1 haada l-ɛaar ɛaleykum
1 Shame on you!
1 wa-msa l-xeyr ɛaleykum
1 Good evening to you,
Chorus 4[10]
1 leyl yaa leyl
1 Night, oh, night,
2 aana li blaadi
2 I belong to my country.
2 wa-naɛma lla msaakum
2 May your evening be blessed by God,
3 l-ḥaaja maašša be l-leyl
3 Things go well in the evening.
Chorus 4
4 wa-maa n-naḍra f ujaakum
4 Here, I look at your faces;
5 škeet ɛaleyk be dnuubi
5 I complained to you about my sins.
6 wa-muulaay Buu Štaa l-Xemmaar
6 Moulay Bu Shta el-Khemmaar,[11]
Chorus 4
7 wa-maa zaynu be l-xḍuura
7 Here is its beauty in green,
8 wa-ṣ-ṣṭal de l-maa baared
8 A bucket [with] cold water[12]

---

[8] Sidi Allal el-Hajj el-Baqqali (died 1573), saint patron and marabout of the Jbala, was buried in the territory of the tribe of Ghzawa (Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 63-67).

[9] Bni Zerwal is often called *qbiila d-el-xulafaa*, i.e., the tribe of caliphs, because of the incredibly large amount of saints buried on the territory of this tribe, as well as because Bni Zerwal claims to have among its members descendants of three successors of the Prophet, namely Omar, Abu Bakr and Ali (Doutté 1900: 9 and Mouliéras 1899: 73). Probably, the singer calls Bni Zerwal 'the tribe of four caliphs' in order to emphasize its special status in comparison to other tribes.

[10] Chorus 4 has the following variants: (1) *leyl yaa leyl/ aana li blaadi* - 'Night oh night/ I belong to my country' and (2) *leyl yaa leyl/ anaari mHaayni* - 'Night oh night/ Oh, my worries'.

[11] Mulay Bu Shta el-Khemmar, saint patron and marabout (died 1589) of the Jbala, was buried in the village Amergu, located in the territory of the tribe of Fishtala, which occupies the left bank of river Wargha (Lèvi-Provençal 1922: 9); for further details see Marçais 1911: 197, Westermarck 1926: 41, and Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 67.

[12] Usually there is a bucket with water by the tomb of a saint that can be used by pilgrims.

Chorus 4
9 wa-maa l-fraaja menḍoora
9 Here is a nice *fraja*[13]
Chorus 5
1 wa-daaba yejiibak rabbi
1 And you are going to be in trouble.
10 wa-maa l-ḥaal qarreb le ṣ-ṣbaaḥ
10 Now it is almost morning,
Chorus 4
11 wa-maa l-leyl baan ɛalaamu
11 Now the sign of night is clear,
12 wa-siidii Ḥmiid Ben Daḥmaan
12 And Sidi Hmid Ben Dahman[14]
Chorus 4
13 wa-maa ḥta ila qeddaamu
13 And if [you are] near him [his shrine],
14 šey illa haa l-waalii
14 [know] this saint is highly respected.
15 wa-šnu l-ayaam de lla
15 What are the days of God?
Chorus 4
16 wa-maa l-ḥadd ghadda wa-l-itneyn
16 Today is Sunday and tomorrow is Monday
17 wa-maa qallet en-niya
17 Good intentions are rare [these days].
Chorus 4
18 wa-maa rbaḥt laana wa-laa ntiin
18 Neither me nor you benefited,
Chorus 5
19 wa-maa l-ɛaam de l-ayaam
19 The year comprises of days,
Chorus 4
20 wa-maa-na nḥaawel ɛaley
20 I defend him
21 ********* be l-xeyr
21 **********
Chorus 4
22 wa-maa smaɛt ši mennek
22 I did not hear anything from you,
Chorus 5
23 wa-maa š-šamš raayḥa raayḥa
23 The sun is going down,

[13] *fraja*, a spectacle, entertainment.
[14] Sidi Hmid Ben Dahman, unidentified.

24 raayḥa ɛala Bni Darkuul
24 Over Bni Darkul.
Chorus 6[15]
1 laa ḥawli lla
1 There is no power except with God
25 lli ghayyar l-maaluuf
25 The one changed [the style] of *maluf*,[16]
26 wa-lla maana laaymu
26 I am not angry with him.
Chorus 6
27 wa-maa ṭarṭaaq el-baruut
27 There are sounds of gun-powder explosions
28 fe j-jbel de Bni Darkuul
28 In the mountain of Bni Darkul.
Chorus 6
29 wa-maa ila wṣelt n timm
29 If you arrived there,
30 yebqa fummek meḥluul
30 Keep your mouth shut.
Chorus 6
31 wa-maa l-ghaaba de Širqaan
31 Here is the forest of Shirqan,[17]
32 maa-raajla yerḍiiha
32 And here is the man who likes it.
Chorus 6
33 mulaah l-waqtiyiin
33 He is the temporary master,
34 huma ɛaayšiin fiiha
34 They live there
Chorus 6
35 jaat eš-šta jaat l-aryaaḥ
35 Came the winter, came the winds,
36 jaat li hmaami ktiira
36 And numerous troubles came.
Chorus 6
37 wa-maa l ɛamda ɛaleyk yaa saareḥ
37 I count on you, shepherd,
38 l-ɛamda ɛaleyk kbiira
38 I count on you to a large degree.

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[15] Chorus 6 has the following variants: (1) *laa Hawli lla* - 'There is no power except with God' to (2) *shkeet aleyk be dnuubi/ laa Hawli lla* - 'I complained to you about my sins/ There is no power except with God' and *wa-xalliwa* - 'And leave him' and all possible combinations made of the lines listed above.

[16] *maluf*, a variety of Andalusian musical tradition.

[17] Shirqan, unidentified.

Chorus 6
39 wa-diik el-bwiibar de n-naar
39 This samovar
40 men Sebta djii l-axṭaar
40 Peril is coming from Ceuta,[18]
41 neṣḥab neṣḥab el-jarwa
41 I keep company with a she-dog.
Chorus 7[19]
1 al-ḥbaab al-graan
1 My friends and companions!
Chorus 8[20]
1 aa blaadi
1 Oh, my country!
42 serrem garnek wa-lwii
42 Comb your braid and plait it.
43 wa-be z-zeyt
43 Olive oil
44 lillaa maa dahnuu šii
44 Do not apply to it.
45 maa ɛandi Ḥamaadi
45 I have my Hamadi
Chorus 8
46 bḥaalu maa nṣiibuu šii
46 [and] I will not find anyone like him.
47 zehru ɛaleyna l-wiidaan
47 The rivers overflew our country
Chorus 8
48 wa-maana waaḥdi derraas
48 Here I thrash all alone.
49 wa-ziidu wa-zeyynu
49 Come and dress up!
Chorus 8
50 maa yeṭmaɛ šii fii n-naas
50 He does not want anything from people.
Chorus 8
Chorus 3
51 wa-ṭalɛu njuum l-Qibla
51 The stars of the Qibla have appeared,

[18] Connotation with the period of the Spanish Protectorate.
[19] Chorus 7 has the following variants: (1) *al-Hbaab l-graan* - 'My friends and companions'; (2) *aa l-graan* - 'Oh, my companions'; (3) *wa-yaa l-graan wa-yaa l-Hbaab* - 'And oh, my friends and oh, companions'; (4) *wa-yaa l-Hbaab aa l-graan* - 'And oh, my friends oh, companions'.
[20] Chorus 8 has the following variants: (1) *aa blaadi* - 'My country'; (2) *wa-blaadi* - 'And my country'.

Chorus 8
52 haadi muuraa haadi
52 One after another.
53 neṭlub siidii rabbii
53 I am asking you my Lord,
54 yufii li muraadi
54 To make my dream come true.
55 maa tmattaɛ ha be l-ḥulwa
55 I entertain her with sweets
Chorus 8
56 wa-maa l-jbaal qraabu
56 The mountains became close.
Chorus 8
Chorus 7
57 ɛandi ghziyal waaḥid
57 I have only one sweetheart.
Chorus 7
Chorus 8
58 maa sxiit šii be fraaqu
58 [and] I cannot leave him.

Song ML 2: alla yehanniik yaa belaad – 'May God Bless You, my Country'
(Mohammed Laaroussi)

1 *aa lalla ilaali*
2 *wa-yaa lalla ilaali*
Chorus [21]
1 alla yehanniik yaa belaad
1 May God bless you, my country,
2 raani maa rajɛaa šii
2 I will never come back
3 r-raajul lli kunt ɛanduu
3 The man at whom I was,
4 raani maa nensaa šii
4 I will never forget him.
Stanza 1
1 aa wa- ḥiyyaana
1 Oh, my shyness
2 ṭallat be t-tenhiida
2 Has led to sighs.
3 ila nɛaawud lak maa f qalbi
3 If I relate you everything what is in my heart,
4 kull kilma be t-tenhiida
4 Every word (will be accompanied) by sighs.

[21] Chorus is repeated after each two lines in each stanza.

Stanza 2
5 lalla ɛayni kiibkiw
5 Lalla,[22] my eyes are crying
6 wa-maa dimuuɛii ɛala xaddi
6 And here are tears on my cheeks.
7 maa biyaa šii l-ghurba
7 I am not in a strange land,
8 l-furqa ɛan wulaadi
8 I am not separated from my children.
Stanza 3
9 muktaab alla
9 God wanted
10 haada l-tṣarrif ɛaleyya
10 Such a treatment for me
11 bghiit en-niya wa-l-amaan
11 I wished good treatment and safety,
12 tta bqiit marmiiya
12 So I became abandoned.
Stanza 4
13 aa xerijt njuul wa-nšuuf
13 I wanted to stroll and gaze,
14 aana lqiit a raaṣii
14 I met him myself.
15 maa-naa f daarii wa-laa ḥbaabii
15 I am not at my home and my relatives,
16 wa-laa hlii wa-laa naasii
16 My family and folks are not with me.
Stanza 5
17 ḥetta xarrejni min daarii
17 So he lured me away from my home
18 wa-ḍḥak ɛaleyya
18 And mocked at me.
19 še tquul ne lla yaa ḍ-ḍaalim
19 What do you say to God, oh, oppressor,
20 yaa qliil en-niya
20 Oh, ill-intentioned?
Stanza 6
21 šḥaal fḥaalii taaquu
21 How many (people) like me trusted
22 wa-mšaw ḍaḥiiya
22 And fell as prey?
23 simɛu šnii wqaɛ lii
23 Listen to what has happened to me

[22] Lalla, a title of respect for a woman.

24 laa tiiqu biiya
24 And do not believe me.
Stanza 7
25 simɛuu šnii wqaɛ
25 Listen to what has happened
26 le-kadaak n-naas fḥaalii
26 To people like me.
27 ḍarbetni t-tifliisa
27 I went astray
28 wa-l-ɛaqal mšaa lii
28 And my mind abandoned me.

Song ML 3: Rḥiimu – 'Rhimu'
(Mohammed Laaroussi)

1 *yaa lalla ilaali*
2 *wa-yaa lalla ilaali*
Chorus[23]
1 aa yimma dyaali
1 Ah my Mother!
2 waaš kaaan sbaabu ghzaali
2 Why did it happen, my sweetheart?
Stanza 1
1 yaa Rḥiimu miskiina
1 Oh, poor Rhiimu,
2 laa texruj fe l-jeraayid
2 You do not go out to gardens [anymore].[24]
3 kiif jraa lik yaa benti
3 How did it happen to you, my girl,
4 ɛabbawuk ɛend el-qaayid
4 That they took you to the police chief?
Stanza 2
5 ɛizzti ɛaleyna aa Rḥiimu
5 We feel sorry for you, Rhimu,
6 maa ɛarefna kiif ndiiru
6 We did not know what to do!
7 kiif jraa lik aa Rḥiimu
7 How did it happen to you, Rhimu
8 ḥetta ɛabbawuk li l-biiruu
8 That they took you to the police station?

[23] Chorus has two variants: *aa yimma dyaali/ waash kaaan sbaabu ghzaali* - 'Ah my Mother!/ Why did it happen, my sweetheart?' and *aa yimma dyaali/ daazu ɛanni Hbaabi* - 'Ah my Mother!/ My relatives have left me'; it is repeated after each stanza.
[24] Each second line in each stanza is following by *aa yimma* - 'Oh, mother'.

Stanza 3
9 yaa Rḥiimu miskiina
9 Oh, poor Rhimu,
10 wa-laa tebkii wa-tešhiq
10 Do not cry and do not whine!
11 smaɛna wa-ɛaawduuna n-naas
11 We heard and some people told us,
12 aa ɛaad qebeḍna et-teḥqiiq
12 And we started investigation
Stanza 4
13 yaa Rḥiimu miskiina
13 Oh, poor Rhimu,
14 tebɛuuha be jurra
14 They took her against her will!
15 kiif jraa lik yaa benti
15 How did it happen to you, my girl,
16 ḥetta ɛabbawuk be l-qurra
16 That they took you by force?
Stanza 5
17 yaa Rḥiimu miskiina
17 Oh, poor Rhimu,
18 wa-laa tesqii men l-ɛayn
18 You do not [come to] take water from the spring [anymore]!
19 kiif jraa lik yaa benti
19 How did it happen to you, my girl,
20 Hetta ɛabbawuk ez-Zuwwaaqiin
20 That they took you to ez-Zuwwaqin?[25]

Song ML 4: ana baali mɛa ghzaali – 'My Mind is with my Beloved'
(Mohammed Laaroussi)

1 *yaa lallaa wa-ha yaa laalli*
2 *yaa lallaa wa-ilaali*
Chorus[26]
1 aa yimma yaa wuliidi
1 Oh mother, oh father,
2 wa-ana baali maɛa ghzaali
2 My mind is with my beloved.
3 lin huwaaya f-baali
3 [with] The one, who is on my mind
Stanza 1
1 aa wa-l-ghziyal dyaali
1 Oh, my handsome boy.

[25] ez-Zuwwaqin, a village in the territory of the tribe of el-Mestara (Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 153).
[26] Chorus is repeated after each stanza.

2 ghaab wa-bqiit nestinna
2 He disappeared and I keep waiting for him.
3 haadi mudda maa šuftu
3 I have not seen him for a long time.
4 twaḥḥašt lu nšuuf wuujah
4 I miss seeing his face.
Stanza 2
5 wa-l-ghziyal dyaali
5 My handsome boy,
6 smaḥ fiya wa-nsaani
6 He left me and forgot all about me.
7 baali kullu maɛa ghzaali
7 My mind is entirely with my beloved.
8 waḥšu raah bekkaani
8 Longing for him makes me cry.
Stanza 3
9 siidii l-ghziyal dyaali
9 My Mister handsome,
10 raa yensaani men baalu
10 He forgets about me.
11 l-ɛiiša dyaali blaa ḥbiibi
11 Life without my love
12 raaha ɛandi kiif waalu
12 Is just nothing.
Stanza 4
13 xallaani wa-nsaani
13 He has abandoned and forgotten about me,
14 fiihi bqiit netfekker
14 [and] I keep thinking of him.
15 l-ɛiiša dyaali blaa ḥbiibi
15 Life without him
16 raaha ɛandi kiif waalu
16 It is just nothing.
17 wa-laa smaaḥa yaa rabbi
17 Do not forgive him, my Lord,
18 le l-menaadem el-ghaddaar
18 This unfaithful person.
Stanza 5
19 aa l-mešmuum dyaali
19 Oh, my bouquet,
20 yaa l-mešmuum de n-naawwar
20 Oh, my bouquet of wild flowers.
21 wa-huwa xeddaam el-ghušš
21 He is telling lies,
22 wa-ana maa ɛandi xbaar
22 And I did not know about it.

Stanza 6
23 aa l-ghziyal dyaali
23 Oh, my handsome boy,
24 kaan ɛaziiz ɛaleyya
24 He was so dear to me!
25 huwa xeddaam el-ghušš
25 He is telling lies
26 wa-ana maa ɛindi niya
26 And I do not trust him.

Song ML 5: ana fellaaḥ – 'I am a Peasant'
(Mohammed Laaroussi)

Chorus[27]
1 aana fellaaḥ yaa ahli abaa ɛan jedd
1 I am a peasant, oh my folks, from grandfather to father,
2 arḍi hya ḥbiibti kmal sɛad
2 My land is my beloved, [it is] complete happiness
3 ɛaayiš fiiha sniin wa-nejnii ghellaateha
3 I live on it for years, gather its fruits,
4 ferḥaan sɛiid maa neqder nefraqha
4 Happy, content, cannot get separated from it.
Stanza 1
1 daazet l-iyaam nfuut nemšii wa-nsaafar
1 Those days (when) I was leaving, going away and traveling are since gone.
2 fe l-midiina naɛiiš nskun wa-nhaajar
2 In the city I was residing and then I departed,
3 biɛt blaadi wa-xiimti wa-fraqt ḥbaab
3 I sold my country and my tent and got separated from the relatives,
4 wa-haajart arḍi wa-mulki llii ksabt
4 I left my land and my belongings.
Stanza 2
5 faatet mudda wa-ḥann qalbi li blaadi
5 Some time has passed and my heart yearned for my country
6 wa-msaḥ jmaalha wa-maaha wa-l-waadi
6 The purity of the beauty of my country, water and river,
7 štaqiit le ṭiibha wa-kmaal ibhaahaa
7 I missed its kindness and its sublime fascination
8 wa-nsaam zhaarha wa-ɛaliil ihwaahaa
8 The perfection of the fragrance of its flowers and crispness of its ear,

[27] Chorus is then repeated after each stanza and sung consequently by soloist and chorus. Chorus sings: *huwa fellaaH yaa ahlu abaa ɛan jedd/ arḍi hya Hbiibti kmal sɛad/ ɛaayish fiiha sniin wa-yajnii ghellaateha/ ferHaan sɛiid maa yeqder yefraqha* - 'He is a peasant, oh his folks, from grandfather to father,/ his land is his beloved,/ [it is] complete happiness/ He lives on it for years, gathers its fruits,/ Happy, content, cannot get separated from it'.

9 dekkart wqaat ɛišt fiiha teḥt ismaaha
9 I recall when I lived under its skies.
10 wa-djiib ɛayuun jaarya ṣaafi maaha
10 The source of its springs brings its clear waters.
Stanza 3
11 qult f-nafsi naɛuud le larḍ el-jdaad
11 I said to myself: I will come back to the land of my forefathers.
12 hya farḥi wa-raaḥti l-ṭuul el-abaad
12 It will be my joy and my pleasure for good.
13 rjaɛt liha sɛiid wa-nsiit lli faat
13 I came back happily and forgot what has passed,
14 maa nhaajerha nḥibbha ɛala ṭawl el-ḥyaat
14 I will never leave it again, I will love it forever.

Song LL1 6: ɛala men ɛazziit ana – 'Who will Pity me?'
(Lahcen Laaroussi)

Chorus[28]
1 ɛala men ɛazziit ana
1 Who will pity me?
2 laa yimma laa baabaa
2 Neither Mother, nor Father.[29]
Stanza 1
1 yaa wa-lalla blaadi lalla
1 Oh, my dear country, my Lalla!
2 šii riiḥ yewalliiha
2 A wind is returning to it
3 yaa wa-naṭlub rabbi l-ɛaali
3 And I am asking [a favor] from my Lord, the Exalted!
4 ɛaayši wa-mawti fiiha
4 [since] It is my life and death
Stanza 2
5 yaa wa-bayna l-jbaal jeblayn
5 Oh, between mountains there are two mountains,
6 beyna l-jbaal ghaluuṭa
6 Between mountains there is a flat land.
7 yaa wa-dxalt ɛaleyk be lla
7 I came to you with good intentions,
8 faaš inti marbuuṭa
8 Are you [already] committed to someone?

[28] Chorus is repeated after each stanza.
[29] Soloist then sings *aa Habiibi/ ɛala men ɛazziit ana* - 'Ah my sweetheart/ Who will pity me?, then these lines are repeated by chorus after each two lines of each stanza. Chorus sung by chorus is: *aa Habiibi/ ɛala men ɛazziit ana* - 'Ah my sweetheart/ Who will pity me?'; it is repeated after each two lines of each stanza.

Stanza 3
9 wa-yaa l-maaši ṣaqṣi hwa
9 Oh, you, who is leaving, ask him,
10 aa wa-yaa r-raajiɛ ṣaqṣi hwa
10 Ah you, who is returning back, ask him,
11 aa wa-ila lqiitu ḥabiibi
11 If you meet my sweetheart,
12 quuluu alla yesaameḥ
12 Tell him that God will forgive him.
Stanza 4
13 yaa wa-ṭ-ṭaalɛa be l-fuuqi
13 You, girl, who is going upstairs,
14 laa tqarqab šii el-lwaaḥ
14 Do not make floorboards creak!
15 aa wa-diik l-ɛayuun el-kuḥl
15 Ah those black eyes!
16 ɛaleyhum ṭaaḥu l-arwaah
16 How many [men] have already fallen for them!
Stanza 5
17 yaa wa-maa dardaarat el-waad
17 Oh, elm-tree by the river!
18 yaa l-mḥarrfa be-l-maaḍi
18 Enscrypted by the past,
19 yaa ɛamda ɛaleyk yaa raasi
19 I count on myself
20 fiinmaa mšiit be l-ḥaaḍi
20 Wherever I go - I should be careful!

Song LL1 7: yimma ṣaabra – 'Patient Mother'
(Lahcen Laaroussi)

Chorus[30]
1 aa yimma ṣaabra wa-nɛaddii
1 Oh mother you are patient and I do the best I can,
2 wa-ana saɛdii maa huu ɛandii
2 Happiness – I do not have it,[31]
Stanza 1
1 yaa wa-lalla s-salaam ɛaleyk
1 Oh, Lalla, greetings to you,
2 yaa wa-lalla s-salaam ɛaleyk
2 Oh, Lalla, greetings to you,
3 yaa wa-lalla laa tfaakkernii
3 Oh, Lalla, do not think about me,

[30] Chorus is then repeated after each stanza.
[31] Each second line of Chorus and each second and fourth line of each stanza is followed by *yaa imma* - 'Oh, mother'.

4 raa el-buɛd beynii wa-beyniik
4 There is a distance between you and me.
Stanza 2
5 yaa lalla wa-rḍii ɛaleyya
5 Oh, Lalla, bless me,
6 wa-yaa waḥšik saal ɛaleyya
6 Your longing flew on me [with tears],
7 wa-yaa ɛaawniinii be-rḍaak
7 Help me with your blessing,
8 yaa wa-rḍaak ḥjaab ɛaleyya
8 Your blessing is a protection for me.
Stanza 3
9 yaa lalla le-fraaq yeɛaddib
9 Oh, Lalla, this distance is tormenting,
10 l-meḥabba baaqa fe l-qalb
10 But love stays in my heart,
11 fe qalbi l-wnes yeqarreb
11 Those who share with me my company become dear to my heart,
12 wa-lli keddeb yejarreb
12 And the one, who thinks that I am lying, can try it.
Stanza 4
13 yaa wa-lilla gheyr ismaɛnii
13 For God's sake, only listen to me,
14 el-waad llii jaa yeddiini
14 The arriving stream will take me[32]
15 yaa le-mḥabba beynii wa-beyniik
15 Love is between me and you,
16 yaa fe klaami ṭaaweɛnii
16 [just] Listen to my words!

Song LL1 8: ɛassa – 'Guard'
(Lahcen Laaroussi)

Chorus[33]
1 wa-anaa ɛalaaš aa yimma
1 Why, my Mother,
2 l-ɛassa mduwwra biya
2 Did get a guard to watch over me?
Stanza 1
1 yaa wa-daaru l-ɛassa be l-liil
1 Oh, they set a guard at night
2 wa-anaaya dmuuɛi tsiil
2 And my tears are falling down.

[32] i.e., I am a rolling stone.
[33] Chorus is repeated after each stanza.

Stanza 2
3 yaa lalla ɛayni tebkii
3 Oh, Lalla, my eyes are crying,
4 la-tebkii wa-tebekkii
4 They are crying and making others cry.
5 wa-ila mšaa li ḥabiibii
5 And if my sweetheart leaves me,
6 syaadii wa-li men niškii
6 To whom can I complain, people?
Stanza 3
7 yaa wa-lalla ɛaayni tebkii
7 Oh, Lalla, my eyes are crying,
8 wa-maa dmuuɛi ɛala xeddii
8 And (here) are tears on my cheeks.
9 wa-maa biyaa šii l-ghurba
9 I am not in a strange land
10 l-furqa ɛan wulaadii
10 I am not separated from my children.
Stanza 4
11 lilla yaa muul ṭunubiil
11 Please, you, car-driver,
12 šmen e-mdiina raayaḥ
12 Which city you are heading for?
13 wa-ila lqiituu ḥabiibii
13 If you meet my sweetheart,
14 quuluu alla yesaamaḥ
14 Tell him that God will forgive him.
Stanza 5
15 yaa wa-raanii f-raaṣ el-ḥaanuut
15 Here I am in a store
16 nextaar f-ez-ziwaanii
16.Choosing some finery,
17 yaa lli yašuufni yaquul ɛabiiṭ
17 Those, who see me, tell me I am stupid
18 wa-anaa l-ḥubb blaanii
18 But I am [only] suffering from love.

Song LL1 9: alla yehanniik yaa baaba – 'May God Bless You, my Father!'
(Lahcen Laaroussi)

Chorus[34]
1 lla yehanniik yaa baaba
1 May God bless you, my Father!

[34] Chorus is repeated after each two lines of each stanza.

2 wa-maa l-ghurba muktaaba
2 Life in a strange land has been destined for me.
Stanza 1
1 bghiit nxruj wa-njuul wa-nšuuf
1 I wanted to stroll, walk, and gaze,
2 ana lqiit raaṣi
2 I met him myself.
3 maa-na yaa f daari
3 I am not at my home,
4 wa-laa ḥbaabi wa-laa naasi
4 Not with and my relatives and my family
Stanza 2
5 lalla ɛayni tibki
5 Lalla, my eyes are crying
6 wa-la-nqaṭṭar dmuuɛii
6 And tears are running drop after drop.
7 jaat*********wa-bilaadii
7 They came*********my country
8 syaadi wa-laayn rujuuɛii
8 To where can I return, people?
Stanza 3
9 xarrejni men blaadi
9 He lured me away from my country[35]
10 wa-blaadi ɛaziiza ɛaleyya
10 And my country is dear to me![36]
11 maa-na yaa be-l-paspoor
11 I do not have a passport
12 maa-na yaa be-l-viiza
12 [and] I do not have a viza.

Song LL1 10: ɛayṭa – 'Ayta'
(Lahcen Laaroussi)

1 wa-bismilla bdiina
1 In the name of God we begin.
Chorus[37]
1 wa-hya l-wulaad
1 Oh, come on guys!
2 aa wa-ɛala n-nbi ṣalliina
2 And we blessed the Prophet,
3 wa-seyyidna Mḥammed
3 Our Master Muhammed.

[35] This line is also repeated as *Harguuni men blaadi* - 'They illegally smuggled me from my country'.
[36] This line is also sung as: *blaadi ɛandi ɛaziiza* - 'My country is dear to me'.
[37] Chorus is then repeated after each two lines.

4 wa-huwa šaafeɛ fiina
4 He is our patron.
5 wa-maa netsuwweq Wazzaan
5 Here I am trading in Ouazzane.[38]
6 wa-maa nruuḥ le l-Qušriiyiin
6 And here I am going to el-Qushriyin.[39]
7 wa-ɛomri maa yesḥab lii
7 It has never seemed to me.
8 wa-maa zgharet l-mekriyiin
8 And here cries of joy are uttered by the hired people
9 wa-l-wlaad yaa l-Mestaari
9 People, ah of el-Mestara.[40]
10 wa-maa l-waad fe l-Ḥarraaqiin
10 And here is river in el-Harraqin,[41]
11 wa-ɛaawen yaa le l-mujaahdiin
11 Help to the warriors.
12 wa-maa-naa f ez-Zuwwaaqiin
12 And here I am in ez-Zuwwaqin.[42]
13 wa-Bni Slaas be l-Jaaya
13 And Bni Slas[43] in el-Jaya,[44]
14 wa-temma ṭaaḥ el-maqaam
14 There the tomb was erected,
15 wa-maa bnaat de ṣeṭṭa
15 And here are girls of Setta[45] -
16 xeṣṣum l-hraawa le r-raaṣ
16 Their heads cry out to be beaten with cudgel.
17 blaadi yaa Bni Zerwaal
17 My country, oh, Bni Zerwal![46]
18 hya qbiila de l-xulafaa
18 It is the tribe of the caliphs,
19 wa-maa ila xfaat ɛaleykum
19 And if you meet them,
20 be l-xayraat maɛruufa
20 They are well known for their good deeds.

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[38] Ouazzane, a town in northern Morocco.
[39] el-Qushriyin, a small town 1500 meters away from Ouezzane (Le Chatelier 1902: 23).
[40] el-Mestara, the tribe which inhabits the basin of river Wergha (Le Chatelier 1902: 94).
[41] el-Harraqin, a village in the territory of the tribe of Ghzaawa (Michaux-Bellaire 1913: 278).
[42] ez-Zuwwaqin, see footnote 25.
[43] Bni Slas, the tribe on the left bank of river Wargha (Lèvi-Provençal 1922: 5).
[44] el-Jaya, the tribe which inhabits the right bank of river Wargha, famous for its belts (Lèvi-Provençal 1922: 153).
[45] Setta, one of minor tribes of the Jbala inhabiting the basin of river Wergha (Le Chatelier 1902: 443).
[46] Bni Zerwal, see footnote 9.

21 wa-maa š-SHaawen yaa l-xaḍraa
21 And here is Chefchaouen,[47] oh, the green.
22 wa-beyn el-jbaal mermiiya
22 It is scattered between the mountains,
23 wa-baɛaḍ er-rjaal mjuuja
23 Some (of its) men are married,
24 wa-baɛaḍ minhaa mebliiya
24 And some of them are womanisers.
25 wa-yaɛjibnii waad eṣ-Ṣṭaaḥ
25 I like river es-Stah,[48]
26 wa-yaɛjibnii be ḥjaaru
26 And I like it because of its stones.
27 wa-l-ḥbiib muulaay ɛAbsaam
27 (Our) beloved Moulay Abdessalam,
28 wa-saɛdat yaa lli zaaruu
28 Happy are those who have visited (his shrine).
29 wa-maa Buu Hlaal aa Buu Hlaal
29 And here is Bu Hlal,[49] ah Bu Hlal.
30 wa-maa Buu Hlaal be r-riiba
30 And here is Bu Hlal in ruins.
31 wa-xurjuu mennu l-ɛaaylaat
31 The women have abandoned it.
32 wa-xallaw fii l-hiiba
32 And left fear in it.

Song LL1 11: ɛayṭa – 'Ayta'
(Lahcen Laaroussi)

1 aa wa-bismilla bdiina
1 Ah and in the name of God, we begin.
2 aa wa-ɛala n-nbii ṣalliina
2 Ah and we blessed the Prophet.
Chorus[50]
1 aa l-liil yaa l-liil
1 Ah night, oh night,
2 aa naarii mḥaaynii
2 Oh, my worries!
3 aa wa-seyyidna Mḥammed
3 Ah and our Master Muhammed,
4 aa wa-huwa šaafeɛ fiina
4 Ah and he is our patron.

[47] Chefchaouen or Chaouen, a city in northern Morocco.
[48] River es-Stah, a stream of the river Mkhazen, situated in the territory of Bni Arus (Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 153).
[49] Bu Hlal, a mountain on the slope of which was founded the city of Ouazzane.
[50] Chorus is repeated after each two lines.

5 aa wa-maa ṣlaa ɛala Mḥammed
5 Ah and here is the blessing to Muhammed.
6 aa wa-maa nṣallii mɛakum
6 Ah and here I am praying with you.
7 aa wa-zuyaar rasuul alla
7 Ah pilgrims to the shrine of the Prophet of God!
8 aa wa-ɛabbiwna fe-ḥmaakum
8 Ah take us under your protection!
9 aa wa-ṭulɛuu ṭ-ṭolba yezuuruu
9 Ah those who know the Qur'an by heart[51] went to visit (his shrine),
10 aa wa-ṭulɛu be l-jalaala
10 Ah and they went extolling God.
11 aa wa-muulaay ɛAbdessalaam
11 Ah and Moulay Abdessalam,
12 aa wa-huwa šeyx a jbaala
12 Ah he is the patron of the Jbala.
13 aa wa-ṭulɛuu ṭ-ṭolba yezuuruu
13 Ah those who know the Qur'an by heart went to visit [his shrine],
14 aa wa-fe l-ɛaqba yertaaḥu
14 Ah they are resting on the mountainside.
15 aa wa-muulaay ɛAbdessalaam
15 Ah and Moulay Abdessalam,
16 aa wa-warriwni martaaḥu
16 Ah and show me the place where he has reposed.
17 aa wa-yaa l-waad Buu ɛAdeel
17 Oh, river Bu Adel![52]
18 aa wa-xaarij le ṣ-Ṣeyyaaghiin
18 Ah it disgorges to es-Seyyaghin.[53]
19 aa wa-eš xarrejni men blaadi
19 Ah what had lured me out of my country.
20 aa wa-qabl men bayyaaɛiin
20 Ah and long time before unscrupulous people [have appeared].
21 aa wa-beyna duwaar wa-diyar
21 Ah and between the village and houses!
22 aa wa-muulaay Buu Štaaa l-Xemmaar
22 Ah and Moulay Bu Shta el-Xemmar![54]
23 aa wa-siidii ɛAllaal el-ḥaaj
23 Oh, and Sidi Allal el-Hajj,[55]

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[51] ṭ*aalib* (pl. *ṭolba*), a religious student who attends *kuttab* (Quranic school) or the one who studies at *zawiya*. In the recent past, in the Jbala society very often only *ṭolba* were literate and could be hired by home-folks as scribes.

[52] River Bu Adel, a small fraction of the tribe Senhaja de-l-Uta (Mouliéras 1899: 402, 414).

[53] es-Seyyaghin, a river in the territory of the tribe Senhaja de-l-Uta.

[54] he shrine of Moulay Buu Shta el-Khemmar (see footnote 11) is located in the outskirts of the village, i.e., between the village and some other houses.

[55] Sidi Allal el-Hajj, see footnote 8.

24 aa wa-huwa ɛaalam ez-zuyaar
24 Oh, he is the banner for pilgrims.
25 aa wa-maa hya jbiyal Zarhuun
25 Ah and here is the small mountain of Zerhoun.[56]
26 aa wa-fii eḍ-ḍow wa-fii ez-zeyt
26 Ah and there is light and there is oil.[57]
27 aa wa-lla yeqawwii ḥarmak
27 Ah and may God strengthen your sacred place.
28 aa wa-ṣulṭaan muulaay Idriis
28 Ah and sultan Moulay Idris.[58]
29 aa wa-maa Buu Hlaal aa Buu Hlaal
29 And here is Bu Hlal,[59] ah Bu Hlal.
30 wa-maa Buu Hlaal be-r-riiba
30 And here is Bu Hlal in ruins.
31 wa-xurjuu mennu l-ɛaaylaat
31 The women have abandoned it,
32 wa-xallaw fii l-hiiba
32 And left their fears in it.
33 aa wa-maa l-ɛAyn Slaasiiya
33 Ah and here is Ayn Slasiya.[60]
34 aa wa-maa saalef ḥalyaanii
34 Ah and here is some nice hair.
35 aa wa-maa l-ḥuzma de l-Jaaya
35 Ah and here are belts (made by) el-Jaya.[61]
36 aa wa-be l-xayṭ el-ḥasani
36 Ah and (embroidered) with patterns of el-Hasani style.[62]
37 aa wa-fiin ṭarṭaaq el-baruut
37 Ah and there are sounds of gun-powder explosions
38 aa wa-be l-Hawta de Ghzaawa
38 Ah and in el-Hawta[63] of Ghzawa.[64]

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[56] Zerhoun, a small mountain, about 25 km north of Meknes. It was Idriss I who established a small settlement there, and after his death the sacred shrine of Moulay Idriss I was erected. Now the town of Moulay Idriss Zerhoun is one of the best-known holy places in Morocco and the center of religious pilgrimage.

[57] The city of Moulay Idriss is also famous for its olive trees.

[58] Mulay Idris, the descendant of the Prophet, (fourth generation) was the conqueror of Morocco (787) and founded the city Moulay Idriss Zerhoun, where, upon his death (792/3), a shrine was erected (Park 1996: 202).

[59] See footnote 49.

[60] Ayn Slasiya, a locality in the territory of the tribe Bni Slas (see footnote 43).

[61] See footnote 44.

[62] el-Hasani, probably embroidered in the style related to the époque of Mulay Hasan.

[63] Hawta, a locality in the territory of the tribe Ghzawa (see footnote 65).

[64] Ghzawa, the tribe located between Lakhmas in the north and Bni Ahmed in the east (Mouliéras 1899: 752).

39 aa wa-ɛazzuu ɛaleyna l-muuta
39 Ah and we mourn our dead ones.
40 aa wa-maa l-jaraḥ yeddaawa
40 Ah and these wounds are self-healing.

Song LL2 12: l-waalida – 'My Mother'
(Latifa Laaroussia)

Chorus[65]
1 l-waalida aa l-waalida
1 Mother, ah Mother!
2 wa-raanii fe l-ghurba baɛiida
2 Here I am, faraway and in a strange land!
3 wa-sallam lii aa l-waalida
3 I am sending you my greetings, ah Mother![66]
Stanza 1
1 wa-yimma lalla yimma
1 My Mother, Lalla Mother!
2 wa-xaayla rḍi ɛaleyya
2 And bless me with your blessings!
3 wa-ɛaql eṣ-ṣoghr aa yimma
3 Childish mind, ah Mother,
4 daaz ɛaleyk wa-ɛaleyya
4 We both have gone through this.[67]
Stanza 2
5 wa-raanii f raas el-naxla
5 Here I am sitting on top of the palm tree
6 wa-riiḥ el-hwa yeddiini
6 And a fluke of wind is taking me away.
7 wa-ɛayni ɛala kull ṭriiq
7 My eyes are peering into each road -
8 waaš men xbaar yejiini
8 What news will arrive?
Stanza 3
9 wa-raani f raas el-ɛanṣaar
9 Here I am at the water spring
10 ka-nṣabben wa-nɛaṣṣar
10 Laundering and draining.
11 l-mḥebba de l-yoma
11 Today love [lasts]
12 maa beyn ḍ-ḍhuur wa-l-ɛaṣar
12 [only] From noon to evening.

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[65] Chorus can also be *wa-yaa lalla yaa lalla*, it is repeated after each two lines of each stanza.
[66] This line is then repeated after each second of each stanza.
[67] i.e., everyone has passed the stage of being childish and unmature in the past.

Stanza 4
13 yalla mɛaaya yalla
13 Let us go together
14 netsaaraw fe l-ɛaašiya
14 And stroll in the evening,
15 nɛaawud lak maa jraa lii
15 I will tell you what has happened to me
16 ḥetta taɛraf maa biiya
16 So that you will know what is that going on.

Song LL2 13: ana ɛabd ghzaali – 'I am a Slave of my Sweetheart'
(Latifa Laaroussia)

Chorus[68]
1 *aa laalla wa-ilaali*
2 wa-ana ɛabd eghzaali
2 I am a slave of my sweetheart!
Stanza 1
1 aa yaa l-warda yaa lalla
1 Ah rose, my Lalla!
2 wa-šii warda be š-šuuka
2 A thorny rose!
3 najnii wa-jnuuni
3 I am going mad and my madness
4 ɛala l-ḥaaja l-mašruuka
4 Is caused by something we both know.
Stanza 2
5 ṭalɛuu njuum el-qibla
5 The stars of the Qibla have appeared,
6 haadi muuraa haadi
6 One after another.
7 ṭ-ṭaalba rabbi l-ɛaali
7 I am asking you my Lord,
8 yeqḍii lii muraadi
8 To help me to realize my dream.
Stanza 3
9 derdeb lii nderdeb lak
9 Roll it to me and I will roll it to you,
10 nderdeb lak liitšiina
10 I will roll to you an orange.
11 walla n ɛandak laa jiit
11 I swear - I came to you
12 gheyr laa jiit intiina
12 But you never showed up!

[68] Chorus is then repeated after each stanza.

Stanza 4
13 wa-l-jliilba l-kaḥla
13 And this black *jellaba*[69]
14 beyna druub yešaalii
14 Is hanging around narrow streets.
15 xarju wlaad de l-ḥwiima
15 As guys from [our] quater went out,
16 kullha tquul dyaali
16 Each one is saying: 'it is mine!'

Song LL2 14: muulaay ɛAbdessalaam – 'Moulay Abdessalam'
(Latifa Laaroussia)

Chorus[70]
1 yaa lalla ben ɛammii
1 Oh Lalla, oh my cousin!
2 bghiit inzuuruu wa-nšuuf be l-ɛayneyn
2 I wanted to visit his shrine and see it with my eyes
3 muulaay ɛAbdessalaam
3 Moulay Abdessalam,
4 šay illa haa-l-waalii
4 [Know] this saint is highly respected
Stanza 1
1 zuuruu fe yawm er-rbiiɛ
1 Visit his shrine in a spring day
2 l e-xḍuura wa-l-manḍar rafiiɛ
2 There is music and nice scenery.
3 wa-yaa alla yaa ben ɛammi
3 Oh God, oh my cousin,
4 maalek xawfaan kun šjiiɛ
4 Why are you afraid [of visiting his shrine]? Be brave!
Stanza 2
5 zuuruu fe ṣ-ṣayfiya
5 Visit his shrine during the summertime –
6 be l-qayṭuuna wa-š-šaašiya
6 Bring a tent and put on the *shashiya*[71]
7 wa-yaa alla yaa ben ɛammi
7 Oh God, oh my cousin,
8 siidi l-waalii ɛaziiz ɛaliya
8 This saint is dear to me
Stanza 3
9 zuuruu fe ɛiid ɛarafa
9 Visit his shrine on the day of Arafa[72]

[69] *jellaba*, a traditional Moroccan dress worn both by males and females.
[70] Chorus is then repeated after each stanza.
[71] *shashiya*, a wide brim hat made of straw.

10 wa-daɛiw mɛaana š-šorfa
10 And take with us *sherifs*.[73]
11 yaa alla yaa ben ɛammi
11 Oh God, oh my cousin,
12 temma qalbak yetfajja
12 To the place where your heart was filled with joy.
Stanza 4
13 zuuruu fe ɛiid el-mawluud
13 Visit his shrine on the birthday of the Prophet
14 sidii l-waalii wa-šeḥaal maqbuul
14 My saint is so good.
15 wa-yaa alla yaa ben ɛammi
15 Oh God, oh my cousin,
16 henna baali wa-l-ḥaal ṣfaa
16 He gave me confidence and the matter was settled.

Song LL2 15: ṣghiira wa-maašša f ḥaali – '[still] Little and [already] Going away!'
(Latifa Laaroussia)

Chorus[74]
1 ṣghiira wa-maašša f ḥaali
1 [still] Little and [already] going away!
2 šekwa n rabbi l-ɛaali
2 I complain to my Lord, the Exalted!
Stanza 1
1 lalla blaadi Šaawen
1 Lalla, my country Chefchaouen![75]
2 mduwwra b sabɛa biibaan
2 Surrounded by seven gates;[76]
3 maɛruufa b l-ḥaayek
3 It is famous for its *Hayek*[77]
4 wa-xaalfa b l-miizaan
4 But lacking balance.
Stanza 2
5 l-waad ḥaamel ḥaamel
5 The river is full with water
6 maa gheṭṭaa ši rbiiɛu
6 But did not cover the greenery
7 ḥaqqi fiik aa ḥbiibi
7 I have rights on you, my sweetheart

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[72] Day of Arafa, Islamic Holy Day on which Islamic Faith has reached its final perfection.
[73] *sherif* (pl. *shorfa*), a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad.
[74] Chorus is repeated after each stanza.
[75] Chefchaouen, see footnote 47.
[76] Each second line in each stanza is followed by *yaa imma* - 'Oh, Mother'.
[77] *hayek*, traditional Moroccan female dress, particularly popular in the north of the country.

8 maa nrehnu wa-nbiiɛu
8 [and] I am not going to put it up or sell.
Stanza 3
9 yaa dardaarat el-waad
9 Oh, elm-tree by the river!
10 yaa mḥarrka be l-maaḍi
10 Moved by the past,
11 l-ɛamda ɛaleyk aa raasi
11 I count [only] on myself
12 fiinmaa mšiit be l-ḥaaḍi
12 Wherever I go – I should be careful!
Stanza 4
13 yaa ṣṭeyyiḥ el-ɛaali
13 Oh, high roof!
14 yaa meršuuš be n-niiila
14 Covered by anilyn die!
15 lli bgha banaat el-yooma
15 Today if you want to get girls,
16 yemšii lum be l-ḥiila
16 You have to play tricks.
Stanza 5
17 ɛamelt el-ḥenna f idi
17 I put on some henna,
18 ṣ-ṣafra maa xarjat šii
18 And the yellow color has not faded yet;
19 el-ɛamda ɛaleyk aa raasi
19 I count [only] on myself
20 saɛdi maa ɛandi šii
20 I do not have any luck.

Song LL2 16: ɛayṭa – 'Ayta'
(Latifa Laaroussia**)**

1 yaa ila wa-yaa l-ɛaali
1 Oh, my Lord, oh, the Exalted!
2 zuyaar rasuul allah
2 Pilgrims to the shrine of the Prophet of God!
3 wa-ɛabbiwna f ḥmaakum
3 Take us under your protection![78]
4 jaamaɛ de l-mujaahdiin
4 The mosque where warriors gather,
Chorus
1 aa Šaama wa-raaḥ el-leyl
1 Ah Shaama, the night is over!

[78] Second time the soloist adds to this line *wa-l-ɛaali* - 'The Exalted'.

5 wa-l-ɛaalya fooq eš-Šaawen
5 Dominates Chefchaouen![79]
6 el-Mḥaala wa-Bin Qariiš
6 [from there they proceed to] el-Mhala[80] and Bin Qarish[81]
Chorus
7 ṣaayga ɛala Teṭṭaawen
7 And continue to Tetouan.[82]
8 wa-maa Buu Hlaal aa Buu Hlaal
8 And here is Bu Hlal,[83] ah Bu Hlal.
9 wa-maa Buu Hlaal be r-riiba
9 And here is Bu Hlal in ruins.
10 wa-xurjuu mennu r-rijaal
10 The men abandoned it
11 wa-xallaw fii l-hiiba
11 And left their fears in it.

Song LL2 17: ɛayṭa – 'Ayta'
(Latifa Laaroussia)

1 wa-maa ṣla ɛala Muḥammed
1 And here is [my] prayer to Muhammed
Chorus 1
1 wa-hya l-wulaad
1 Oh, come on guys!
2 wa-maana nṣalli mɛakum
2 And here I am praying with you.
3 wa-zuyaar rasuul ellaa
3 Ah pilgrims to the shrine of the Prophet of God!
Chorus 1
4 wa-ɛabbiwna fe-ḥmaakum
4 Ah take us under your protection!
Chorus 2
1 haad el-ɛaar ɛaleykum
1 Shame on you!
5 wa-ṭulɛuu ṭ-ṭolba yezuuruu
5 Ah those who know the Qur'an by heart went to visit (his shrine),[84]
Chorus 1
6 aa wa-ṭulɛuu be-l-jalaala
6 Ah and they went extolling God.

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[79] Chefchaouen, see footnote 47.
[80] el-Mhala, a locality in the province of Tetouan.
[81] Dar Bin Qarrish, a locality in the province of Tetouan.
[82] Tetouan, a city in northern Morocco.
[83] Bu Hlal, see footnote 49.
[84] See footnote 51.

7 aa wa-muulaay ɛAbdessalaam
7 Ah and Moulay Abdessalam,
Chorus 1
8 aa wa-huwa šeyx a jbaala
8 Ah he is the patron of the Jbala,
9 šey illa haa-l-waalii
9 [Know] this saint is highly respected.
10 aa wa-beyna duwaar wa-diyar
10 Ah and between the village and houses!
Chorus 3
1 aa Šaama wa-raaḥ el-leyl
1 Ah Shama, the night is over,
11 aa wa-muulaay Buu Štaa l-Xemmaar
11 Ah and Moulay Buu Shta el-Khemmar![85]
12 aa wa-siidii ɛAllaal el-Ḥaajj
12 Oh, and Sidi Allal el-Hajj[86]
Chorus 3
13 aa wa-huwa ɛaalam ez-zuyaar
13 Oh he is the banner for pilgrims,
14 šey illa haa l-waalii
14 [Know] this saint is highly respected.
15 aa wa-fiin ṭarṭaaq el-baruut
15 Ah and there are sounds of gun-powder explosions
Chorus 3
16 aa wa-beyn el-Fes wa-Ghzaawa
16 Ah and between Fes and Ghzawa.[87]
17 aa wa-ɛazzuu ɛaleyna l-meyta
17 Ah and we mourn our dead ones,
Chorus 3
18 aa wa-maa l-mejruuḥ yeddaawa
18 Ah and the wounded will recover.
Chorus 2
19 wa-maa Buu Hlaal aa Buu Hlaal
19 And here is Bu Hlal, ah Bu Hlal.
20 wa-maa Buu Hlaal be r-riiba
20 And here is Bu Hlal in ruins.
Chorus 1
21 wa-xurjuu mennu r-rijaal
21 The men abandoned it
22 wa-xallaw fii l-hiiba
22 And left their fears in it.

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[85] Mulay Bu Shta el-Khemmar, see footnote 11.
[86] Sidi Allalchorus el-Hajj, see footnote 8.
[87] Ghzawa, see footnote 65.

Song AA 18: fiin ḥsalti yaa l-wuliid – 'To where Have you Arrived, my Dear?'
(Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi)

Chorus[88]
1 fiin ḥsalti yaa l-wuliid
1 To where have you arrived, my dear, -
2 fi Baariiz wulla f Madriid
2 To Paris or Madrid?
3 wella ṭaah lak el-ḥadiid
3 Or you are in trouble
4 maa ɛarafti ši feyn dziid
4 And do not know what to do?
Stanza 1
1 ɛayyiiṭ ɛaleyk maa temšii ši
1 I told you not to leave,
2 tta nta maa qaarii ši
2 Since you are illiterate.
3 ɛaameyn wa-nta ka-dduur
3 For two years you have been spinning,
4 radduuk men el-baabuur
4 Since they dropped you from the ferry.[89]
Stanza 2
5 l-ghurba maašii sahla
5 Life in a foreign land is not easy,
6 n-naas mšat wa-lqat waḥla
6 People went there and got in a lot of troubles.
7 ḍayyaɛti l-fluus dyaalak
7 You have lost your money
8 wa-maašii qliil lli jraa lak
8 And many [other] things happened to you as well.
Stanza 3
9 wa-blaadak fiiha kull šii
9 Everything can be found in your own country
10 wa-nta ghašiim maa tefham šiii
10 But you are naive and do not understand that.
11 ɛaameyn wa-nta ka-dduur
11 For two years you have been spinning,
12 radduuk men el-baabuur
12 Since they dropped you from the ferry.

[88] Chorus is then repeated after each stanza.
[89] The second line of Stanza 3 can also be *bla viiza bla paspoor* - 'With no visa and no passport'.

Song AA 19: ṭuyuur el-ghaaba – 'Forest Birds'
(Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi)

Chorus[90]
1 yaa ṭuyuur el-ghaaba
1 Oh, forest birds!
2 laa yimma laa baabaa
2 Neither Mother, nor Father,
3 škuun yešuuf lii ḥaali
3 Who will look after me
4 gheyr alla el-ɛaali
4 Except God, the Exalted?
Stanza 1
1 l-ghaaba fiiha sabuuɛa
1 There are lions in the forest
2 wa-be ṣ-ṣyaad muluuɛa
2 [And] they like to hunt!
3 fiiha rbaaɛa de l-ḥlaalif
3 There are four bush pigs in it,
4 wa-ana xaayif wa-taalif
4 And I am perishing and dying!
Stanza 2
5 ghaaba fiiha dyuuba
5 There are wolves in the forest,
6 wa-š-šbek wa-l-xšaab manṣuuba
6 And nets, and traps!
7 f fiiha rbaaɛa de l-ḥlaalif
7 There are four bush pigs in it,
8 wa-ana xaayif wa-taalif
8 And I am perishing and dying!
Stanza 3
9 l-ghaaba fiiha nmuura
9 There are tigers in the forest,
10 l-wuḥuuš ɛaayša masɛuura
10 [There] live furious beasts!
11 fiiha rbaaɛa de l-ḥlaalif
11 There are four bush pigs in it,
12 wa-ana xaayif wa-taalif
12 And I am perishing and dying!
Stanza 4
13 wa-l-ghaaba fiiha l-faaɛ
13 There snakes in the forest
14 wa-maa xeṣṣha gheyr teblaɛ
14 And all they want is to swallow [you]!

[90] Chorus is then repeated after each stanza.

15 fiiha rbaaɛa de l-ḥlaalif
15 There are four bush pigs in it,
16 wa-ana xaayif wa-taalif
16 And I am perishing and dying!

Song AA 20: xaay yaa l-ɛaziiz – 'My Dear Brother'
(Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi)

Chorus[91]
1 aa xaay yaa l-ɛaziiz
1 Ah my dear brother,
2 yaa l-maaši l Uruupa
2 Who is leaving for Europe!
3 nanṣeḥ lak maa temši l Uruupa
3 I advise you not to go to Europe,
4 aa xaay ḥetta temma l-bṭaala
4 Since, my brother, even there they have unemployment.
Stanza 1
1 aa xaay yaa l-ɛaziiz
1 Ah my dear brother,
2 yaa l-xeddaam f l-gharsa
2 Who is engaged in agricultural works,
3 nenṣeḥ lak maa temši l Fransa
3 I advise you not to go to France!
Stanza 2
4 aa xaay yaa l-ɛaziiz
4 Ah my dear brother,
5 yaa l-xeddaam f l-karyaan
5 Who is engaged in quarry works,
6 nanṣeḥ lak maa temši l Iṭaalya
6 I advise you not to go to Italy!
Stanza 3
7 aa xaay yaa l-ɛaziiz
7 Ah my dear brother,
8 yaa l-xeddaam f d-daalya
8 Who is engaged in vineyard works!
9 nanṣeḥ lak maa temši l Ispaanya
9 I advise you not to go to Spain!

Song AA 21: mulaati Šaama – 'My Dear Shama'
(Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi)

Chorus
1 yaa mulaati aa Šaama
1 Oh, my dear Shama,

[91] Chorus is then repeated after each stanza.

2 fiin maašša be-s-slaama
2 Where are you going to:
3 l-Wazzaan wulla Ktaama
3 To Ouazzane[92] or Ketama?[93]
Stanza 1
1 haak l-ḥulwa haak z-zbiib
1 Here are sweets, here are raisins,
2 w-haak n-nwaa w-haak l-ḥliib
2 Here are seeds, and here is milk,
3 haak l-girgaaɛ yaa mulaati
3 Here are [also] nuts, my dear,
4 maa txalli ši blaadak wa-blaadi
4 So do not leave our country!
Stanza 2
5 ana mzaaweg f lla wa-fiik
5 I am asking God and you,
6 mši w-aji lla yexalliik
6 Please go and come back!
7 maa bqa ḥaad f l-baadiya
7 No one is left in the countryside,
8 gheyr l-ḥjaar wa-l-hindiya
8 Only stones and cacti.
Stanza 3
9 maa tebqa š teṭallaɛ l-kiif
9 Stop growing *kif*,[94]
10 wa-nti msellma w-jeddak šriif
10 Since you are a Muslim, and your grandfather is a "sherif"![95]
11 maašša ṭṭallal ɛala blaadi
11 You are wondering across my country,
12 ɛaandak l-ɛadyaan gha-yeddiw
12 [But] be careful, enemies can take it away!

Song AA 22: ɛayṭa el-Quds – 'Ayta of Jerusalem'
(Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi)

Stanza 1
1 aa ɛibaad allah
1 Ah, servants of God!
2 rijaal allah
2 Holy people!
3 nuuḍuu jemɛuu raaskum
3 Rise and get together!

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[92] Ouazzane, see footnote 38.
[93] Ketama, a city in Moroccan Rif known for being a center of cannabis industry.
[94] *kif*, processed cannabis.
[95] *sherif*, see footnote 73.

4 raa l-Quds ka-yenaadiikum
4 Jerusalem is calling you!
5 ɛatkuuh men ɛadyaankum
5 Defend it from your enemies!
Chorus[96]
1 aana mɛaak
1 I am with you,
2 al-ɛarbi
2 The Arab,
3 nta xaay
3 You are my brother,
4 ben ɛammi
4 My paternal cousin.
5 aana mɛaak mɛaak
5 I am with you,
6 quddaamak wa-men wuraak
6 In front of you and behind you,
7 raah l-Quds arḍ dyaalna
7 Jerusalem is our land,
8 maa nsamḥuu ši fiiha
8 We will not give it away,
9 waxxa nmuutu ɛaleyha
9 Even if we die for it!
10 wa-l-ɛaaawin allah
10 And God will help us.
Stanza 2
6 aa ɛibaad allah
6 Ah, servants of God!
7 rijaal allah
7 Holy people!
8 diik l-blaad de z-zaytuun
8 This country of olives,
9 maa-nxalliwha ne-ṣ-ṣahyuun
9 We will not leave it to Zionists,
10 waxxa yekuun lli yekuun
10 And be that as it may!
Stanza 3
11 aa ɛibaad allah
11 Ah, servants of God!
12 rijaal allah
12 Holy people!
13 nuuduu nḥaarbuu mɛaakum
13 Let us raise and fight with you!

[96] Chorus is then repeated after each stanza.

14 Filiṣṭiin ka-ynaadikum
14 Palestine is calling you
15 ɛitkuuha wa-ghittuu xuutkum
15 [enemies] have attacked it and oppressed your brothers?
Stanza 4
16 aa ɛibaad allah
16 Ah, servants of God!
17 rijaal allah
17 Holy people!
18 ɛatkuu l-blaad aa l-wulaad
18 This country has been attacked, guys!
19 qbil l-maa yeddiha l-waad
19 Before it will be be swept away
20 ghiṭṭuuha yaa l-jwaad
20 Protect it, oh, noble people!

Secondary Corpus I: Audio Records Made between 1960 and 1990

Song MG 23: ɛayṭa – 'Ayta'
(Mohammed al-Ghiyathi)

1 ana wa-yaa ḥbiibi
1 Me and my sweetheart,
Chorus 1
1 aa hyaa l-wulaad
1 Ah come on guys!
2 aana wa-l-ɛayṭa f beyti
2 Me and ɛayta at my home,
Chorus 1
3 aana l-warda yaa l-warda
3 Me [and] a rose, oh, rose!
Chorus 1
4 wa-l-maftuuḥa be-l-gharbi
4 Opened by the western wind.
5 wa-l-ɛaayla wa-l-ɛaayl
5 A girl and a boy -
Chorus 1
6 aa w-maa yeḥaasibhum rabbi
6 It is up to God to judge them.
7 aana l-warda yaa l-warda
7 Me [and] a rose, oh, rose!
Chorus 1
Chorus 2
1 aa Šaama wa-raaḥ el-leyl
1 Ah Shama, the night is over!

8 aa maa l-warda raḥraaḥa
8 And here is a fluffy rose,
9 bghiit nemshii mɛa qalbi
9 [and] I want to go where my heart is calling me.
Chorus 2

Song MA 24: ɛayṭa – 'Ayta'
(Mohammed al-Ayachi)

1 aana wa-naɛma lla s-sabuuɛ
1 Me and God blessed the Seventh day![97]
1 *aa wa-la yalla ilaali*
2 aa wa-faateḥ el-xeyr ɛaleykum
2 Ah and He gave you goodness!
3 aa wa-ila rḍiitu biiya
3 And if you are happy with me,
4 aa wa-maa ḥna ṭaalbiin ḥmaakum
4 We are here, asking for your protection.
Chorus 2
1 yaa l-wulaad
1 Oh, come on guys!
5 yaa jbiyal Zarhuun
5 Ah and here is the small mountain of Zerhoun,[98]
Chorus 2
6 aa wa-fiihi ndaa wa-fiihi z-zeyt
6 Ah and there is light and there is oil.
Chorus 2
7 aana ɛabiid meftuun
7 I am [his] charmed servant
Chorus 2
Chorus 1
8 alla yetuub
8 [and] God is forgiving,
9 aa wa-l ḥbiibu la-yemiil
9 And he is merciful towards the one who is dear to him.
10 wa-šay illa haa-l-waalii l-ɛalwa
10 [Know] this exalted saint is highly respected.
11 ṭ-ṭaalɛiin yezuuruu
11 [We] are going to visit [his shrine],
Chorus 2
Chorus 1
12 aa wa-ṭaalɛiin be l-jalaala
12 Ah and we are going [there] extolling God.

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[97] According to the Islamic tradition, on the seventh day of the arrival of a new-born to this world, his family throw a welcome party.
[98] Zerhoun, see footnotes 57 and 58.

13 aa wa-muulaay ɛAbdesslaam
13 Ah and Moulay Abdessalam,
Chorus 2
14 yaa qandiil Jbaala
14 [he is] the oil lamp of the Jbala!
Chorus 1
15 aa wa-šay illa haa l-waalii l-ɛalwa
15 [Know] this exalted saint is highly respected.
16 aana wa-yaa blaadi l-ḥurma
16 Me and my sacred country!
Chorus 3
1 aa Šaama wa-raaḥ el-leyl
1 Ah Shama, the night is over!
17 waɛdu la-yerḍiikum
17 His promise will satisfy you;
Chorus 1
18 siidii ɛAllaal el-Ḥaajj
18 Oh, and Sidi Allal el-Hajj,[99]
Chorus 1
Chorus 3
19 wa-huwa š-šaafeɛ fiikum
19 Ah and he is your patron.[100]

Song RO 25: ddiini l Faas saariini – 'Take me to Fes to Stroll!'
(Rhimou Ouazzania)

Chorus
1 aa ddiini l Faas saariini
1 Ah take me to Fes to stroll!
2 aana ghšiima warriini
2 I am naive, so show me around!
Stanza 1
1 aa wa-yaa l-warda yaa lalla
1 Ah rose, oh, lalla!
2 aa wa-ṭaaḥ eš-šta wa-zyaaanit
2 It became prettier after rain.
3 aa yešuuf fiiha ḥabiibi
3 Ah my sweetheart will look at it
4 aa wa-yerudda faay kaanet
4 And return it to its place.
Stanza 2
5 aa wa-maa l-mašmuum en-naahi
5 Ah my beautiful bouqet,

[99] Sidi Allal el-Hajj, see footnote 8.
[100] This line is then repeated as *huwa Hjaab ɛaleykum* - 'He is your protection'.

6 aa wa-sqiitu wa-ɛjabni
6 I watered it and then liked it.
7 aa wa-ɛarefni la-nbghiik
7 Ah, you know I love you,
8 aa laa temšii wa-tɛaddebni
8 So do not go away and torment me!
Stanza 3
9 aa wa-rumaana rumaana
9 Ah pomegranate tree, pomegranate tree,
10 aa wa-maa jlayla f s-suufli
10 its hem is touching the ground.
11 aa wa-maa šḥaali netraajek
11 How much have I been begging you -
12 aa wa-lyooma jaabek rabbi
12 And today you [finally] found yourself in trouble!
Stanza 4
13 aa wa-lalla Tanja ɛaalya
13 Ah Lalla Tangier is high
14 aa wa-l-ɛaayla b sarja
14 High and [illuminated with] bright lights!
15 wa-ila jaa ḥabiibi
15 If my sweetheart comes back to me,
16 aa wa-qalbi la-yetfajja
16 My heart will be filled with with joy.

Song AL 26: ɛayṭa – 'Ayta'
(Abdelhaq Laaroussi)

1 aa wa-maa l-ɛayn Muulaay ɛAbdessalaam
1 Ah here is a spring at [the shrine] of Moulay Abdessalam,
Chorus 1
1 ana blaadi
1 My country!
2 wa-l-maa dyaalha baardiin
2 And its water is cold.
3 wa-ɛaleyya ɛaynak fiiha
3 You are protecting me there,
Chorus 1
4 lla yerḥam el-waalidiin
4 May God bless your parents!
Chorus 2
1 wa-yaa l-ḥbaab
1 And oh, my friends!
Chorus 1
Chorus 3
1 haad el-ɛaar ɛaleykum
1 Shame on you.

Chorus 4
1 wa-ɛawwaam
1 And [he is] a swimmer![101]
Chorus 2
2 aa wa-yaɛjibni waad eṣ-Ṣṭaaḥ
2 I like river es-Stah,[102]
3 wa-yaɛjibni be ḥjaaru
3 And I like it because of its stones.
4 wa-Muulaay ɛAbdessalaam
4 (Our) Moulay Abdessalam,
5 saɛdat lli zaaruu
5 Happy are those who have visited (his shrine).
Chorus 1
6 wa-šay illa haa l-waalii
6 [Know] this saint is highly respected
7 aa yella mɛaaya yella
7 Ah let us go together
Chorus 1
8 n Faas netsaaraawa
8 to Fes and stroll!
9 ɛandi ghziyal waaḥid
9 I have only one sweetheart.
10 jaw l-ɛaduww w-ghzaawu
10 [but] Enemies came and took him [from me].
Chorus 1
Chorus 3
11 yella mɛaaya yella
11 Let us go together
Chorus 1
12 yella mɛaaya ne Teṭwaan
12 let us go together to Tetouan![103]
13 maa nsaariik fe l-Gharsa
13 We will stroll in el-Gharsa[104]
Chorus 1
14 wa-nziidu ne l-Feddaan
14 And then continue to el-Feddan![105]

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[101] According to Mohammed Laaroussi, this expression goes back to the epoque of Tariq Ben Ziyad (689-720 AD), the Moroccan conqueror of Spain. The legend tells that sea journey through the gulf of Gibraltar was not easy for Tariq and his army, the weather was stormy, and some vessels suffered a shipwreck. Seeing their drowning companions, survivors started to shout: *wa-ɛawwaam, wa-ɛawwaam* - 'And [you are] a swimmer', encouraging them to float for some time to be saved.

[102] River es-Stah, see footnote 48.

[103] Tetouan, see footnote 82.

[104] el-Gharsa el-Kebira, one of the squares in the historical Tetouan.

[105] el-Feddan, the central square of Tetouan.

Chorus 1
Chorus 3
15 maa Tanja yaa l-ɛaalya
15 Here is Tangier, the high,
Chorus 1
16 maa hiya l-ɛaalya be swaariiha
16 Here it is high with its walls!
17 wa-bellaghuu slaam le Teṭwaan
17 Pass my greetings to Tetouan
Chorus 2
Chorus 1
18 hiya wa-mwaaliiha
18 And its people.
Chorus 3
19 aa blaadi yaa Bni Zerwaal
19 Ah my country, oh, Bni Zerwal![106]
Chorus 1
20 yaa qbiilta l-xulafaa
20 The tribe of the caliphs,
Chorus 2
21 ila xfat ɛaleykum
21 And if you meet them,
22 be l-xayraat maɛruufa
22 They are well known for their good deeds.
Chorus 1
Chorus 3
23 wa-maa l-ɛAyn s-Slaasiya
23 Ah and here is Ayn Slasiya[107]
Chorus 1
24 wa-maa s-saaleb el-ḥayyaani
24 Ah and here is some nice hair.
25 wa-maa l-ḥuzma de l-Jaaya
25 Ah and here are belts (made by) el-Jaya[108]
Chorus 2
26 be l-xayṭ el-ḥasani
26 Ah and (embroidered) with patterns of el-Hasani style.[109]
Chorus 1
Chorus 3
Chorus 5
1 aa yaa l-graan
1 And oh, my companions!

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[106] Bni Zeraal, see footnote 9.
[107] Ayn Slasiiya, see footnote 43.
[108] el-Jaya, see footnote 44.
[109] Hasani style, see footnote 62.

27 aa wa-maa l-jlilba l-kaḥla
27 Ah and this black *jellaba*[110]
Chorus 1
28 be d-druub yešaali
28 Is hanging around narrow streets.
29 wa-xurjuu wlaad el-ḥwiima
29 And as guys from [our] quater went out,
Chorus 5
30 kullha tquul dyaali
30 Each one is saying: 'it is mine!'
Chorus 2
Chorus 1
Chorus 3
31 aa wa-yimma l-ḥbiiba wa-yimma
31 Ah Mother, my beloved Mother!
Chorus 1
32 maa tzebbel šii fiya
32 Do not be angry with me,
33 ɛaql eṣ-ṣoghr aa yimma
33 Childish mind, ah Mother,-
Chorus 1
34 daaz ɛaleyk wa-ɛaleyya
34 We both have gone through this.
Chorus 2
Chorus 1
Chorus 3
35 aa wa-yimma l-ḥbiiba yimma
35 Ah Mother, my beloved Mother!
Chorus 1
36 wa-rḍi ɛaleyya be rḍaak
36 Give me your blessings!
37 wa ila ṭaalat el-gheyba
37 And if [my] absense is long,
Chorus 1
38 **********
38 **********
Chorus 1
Chorus 4
Chorus 2
Chorus 3
39 aa wa-beyna s-Slaas wa-l-Jaaya
39 And between Slas[111] and el-Jaya,[112]

---

[110] *jellaba*, see footnote 69.
[111] Slas, see footnote 43.
[112] el-Jaya, see footnote 44.

40 temma ṭaaḥ el-maqaṣṣ
40 There was a bloody battle,
Chorus 6
1 aa liil yaa liil
1 Night, oh, night,
2 anaari mḥaayni
2 Oh, my worries!
41 aa wa-l-bnaat de ṢeṭṭA
41 And here are girls of Setta,[113]
42 aa xeṣṣ yaa l-hraawa le r-raaṣ
42 Their heads cry out to be beaten with cudgel.
Chorus 6
43 aa wa-yaa l-waad Buu εAdel
43 Oh, river Bu Adel![114]
44 xaarej le ṣ-Ṣeyyaaghiin
44 Ah it disgorges to es-Seyyaghin.[115]
Chorus 6
45 wa-xarrejni men blaadi
45 And it had lured me out of my country.
46 qabla men bayyaεiin
46 Long time before unscrupulous people [have appeared].
Chorus 6
47 aa wa-l-wlaad yaa l-Messaari
47 People, ah of el-Mestara.[116]
48 wa-xaarej men el-Ḥarraaqiin
48 And they outside of el-Harraqin,[117]
Chorus 6
49 wa-εaawen yaa le l-mujaahdiin
49 Help to the warriors.
50 wa-maa l-ḥarb fe z-Zuwwaaqiin
50 And there is war in ez-Zuwwaqin.[118]
Chorus 6
51 aa wa-yaεjebni Waad eṣ-Ṣṭaaḥ
51 I like river es-Stah,
52 wa-yaεjebni be ḥjaaru
52 And I like it because of its stones.
Chorus 6
53 wa-l-ḥbiib Muulaay εAbdslaam
53 (Our) beloved Moulay Abdessalam,

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113 Setta, see footnote 45.
114 River Bu Adel, see footnote 52.
115 eS-Seyyaghin, see footnote 53.
116 el-Mestara, see footnote 40.
117 el-Harraqin, see footnote 41.
118 ez-Zuwwaqin, see footnote 25.

54 saɛdat lli zaaruu
54 Happy are those who have visited (his shrine).
Chorus 6
55 aa wa-beyna duwaar wa-diyar
55 Ah and between the village and houses!
56 aa wa-Muulaay Buu Štaa el-Xammaar
56 Ah and Moulay Bu Shta el-Khemmar![119]
Chorus 6
57 wa-siidii ɛAllal el-Ḥajj
57 Oh, and Sidi Allal el-Hajj,[120]
58 wa-huwa ɛaalam ez-zuyaar
58 Oh, he is the banner for pilgrims.
Chorus 6
59 wa-maa ɛAyn es-Slaasiya
59 Ah and here is Ayn Slasiya.
60 wa-s-saaleb el-ḥayyaani
60 Ah and here is some nice hair.
Chorus 6
61 wa-maa l-ḥuzma de l-Jaaya
61 Ah and here are belts (made by) el-Jaya.
62 be l-xayṭ el-ḥasani
62 Ah and (embroidered) with patterns of el-Hasani style.
Chorus 6

Song AKH 27: ṣaqṣii l-ḥbiib ila jaa – 'Ask my Sweetheart if he Comes'
(Abdessalam al-Khomsi)

Stanza 1
1 *aa wa-yaa lalla yellali*
2 wa-lla ɛaalem maa biya
2 [Only] God knows what is going on with me!
Chorus
1 aa yaa lalla yaa yimma
1 Ah my Lalla Mother, ask
2 wa-ṣaqṣii el-ḥbiib ila jaa
2 My sweetheart, if he comes.
3 ṣaqṣii l-ḥbiib ila jaa
3 Ask my sweetheart if he comes,[121]
4 yaa wa-maa-naa fii moḥtaaja
4 [because] I need him

[119] Mulay Bu Shta el-Khemmar, see footnote 11
[120] Sidi Allal el-Hajj, see footnote 8.
[121] The following two lines are repeated after each second line of each stanza, i.e., they also play a role of Chorus.

Stanza 2
5 aa wa-maa yethanna xaaṭri
5 My mind cannot be set in rest
6 ḥetta yejii ḥbiibi l ɛandi
6 Until my sweetheart comes to me.
7 raani ɛayyiit maa neṣbar
7 I am tired of being patient
8 wa-raa qaṭṭaɛ lii qalbi
8 And he tore my heart apart.
Stanza 3
9 aa wa-diik el-ɛayn de raaṣ el-jbiyel
9 Ah and that spring on the mountain top
10 wa-l-maa fiiha la-yḥiin
10 Its water is clear.
11 ɛaṭuuni xbaar ḥbiibi
11 Bring me news about my sweetheart!
12 wa-maa nsaafar ɛandu f liil
12 I am travelling to him at night;
Stanza 4
13 ana mriiḍ ana mriiḍ
13 I am ill, I am ill
14 wa-šii marḍ ana maahuu fiiya
14 But I do not have any illness.
15 aa wa-men kiyyat ḥbiibi
15 Because of the burnt left by my sweetheart
16 wa-ana mšiit xṭiiya
16 I did wrong things.
Stanza 5
17 ar-rumaana rumaana
17 Pomegranate tree, pomegranate tree,
18 wa-j-jlaayla yedjarru
18 [With its dragging hem,
19 waxxa nkuu merbuuṭa
19 Even if I am committed to someone,
20 nqaṭṭaɛ wa-nemšii n-ɛandu
20 I will cut everything off and go to him.
Stanza 6
21 aa wa-litchiina litchiina
21 Ah, orange tree, orange tree,
22 yaa wa-z-zhaar maa fiihaa šii
22 There are no blossoms on it,
23 aa waxxa jyuuni ɛašra
23 Even if ten [boys] come to me,
24 fḥaalik maa yekuunuu šii
24 They cannot be compared to you!

Secondary Corpus II: Old Printed Materials

A Michaux-Belliare (Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 153-155)

Aytas

MB Ayta 1
1 Abeille! Abeille! L'abeille, je ne l'ai pas vue.
1 Oh, bee, oh, bee! The bee I have not seen.
2 J'ai habitè tous les pays, et le mien je l'ai abandonnè!
2 I lived in all countries but I had left mine!

MB Ayta 2
1 L'Oued Settah m'a plu et ses roches étaient sur son bord.
1 I like river es-Stah[122] and stones along its cost
2 Notre bien-aimé, Moulay Abdessalam! C'est nous qui sommes ses serviteures!
2 (Our) beloved Moulay Abdessalam, we are his servants!

MB Ayta 3
1 La source du village d'Ez-Zouaqin, la lune y est réflétée.
1 The creek in the town of ez-Zuwwaqin[123] it is reflecting the Moon
2 Je n'aurais jamais cru tout être beau devait être pousouvi pour sa beauté.
2 I have never thought that each beautiful woman should be chased because of her beauty.

MB Ayta 4
1 O muletier! O muletier! Le premier de la caravane!
1 Oh, the one who transports goods! The first in the caravan!
2 Nous avons pris du plaisir autant que nous en avon pu prendre!
2 We had pleasures in doing things as much as we could!

MB Ayta 5
1 La mosquée, le Siyd, les tuiles sont égales.
1 The mosque, [the tomb] of the Seyyid, and the roof tiling is levelled.
2 Rien ne m'a fait quitter mon pays si ce n'est des histoires de femmes.
2 I would not have left my land if not those stories with women.
3 Des gerbes de fusils sont dressées au marché de l'Arba.
3 Explosions of gunshots were made in the bazaar of al-Arba[124]
4 C'est ce que crie El-Qaus[125] et les têtes ces coupent.
4 This is why there are cries in el-Qaus and the heads are being cut off.

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122 River e-Stah, see footnote 48.
123 ez-Zuwwaqin, see footnote 25.
124 Suuq el-Arba, a weekly market in the territory of al-Jaya (Mouliéras 1899:34).
125 el-Qaus, a village in the territory of Ahl Srif (Michaux-Bellaire 1911: 153).

Ayyuu

MB 1
1 Daak el-jnaan el-ɛaali
1 That garden growing on a hill,
2 wa-ṭ-ṭuyuur fii yebaatu
2 Birds like sleeping in it.
3 elli bgha z-ziin
3 If someone likes beautiful women,
4 yexsar lli mtaaɛu
4 He will spend on them everything he has.

MB 2
1 linkaaṣa linkaaṣa
1 Pear tree, pear tree!
2 ṭaḥ ez-zhaar min raasa
2 Blossoms have fallen down from its head.
3 Daak el-maḥbuub dyaali
3 That sweetheart of mine -
4 el-ɛasel fe ṭ-ṭaaṣa
4 He is like honey in a cup.

MB 3
1 ɛayyiw! yaa l-benaat
1 Sing, oh, girls!
2 aaš nesmaɛ el-ghaakum
2 Let me hear your voices!
3 ḥukm er-rijaal ɛaleyya
3 Men have forbidden me [to go out] -
4 maa neṣiib ši nelqaakum
4 There is no chance for me to join you.

MB 4
1 yaa rebiiɛ el-qaaɛ
1 Oh, greenery of the lowland,
2 yaa rebiiɛ el-qaaɛ
2 Oh, greenery of the lowland!
3 xalli z-zein n uṣlu
3 Leave the beauty to its owner,
4 laa tkuun ši ṭemaaɛa
4 Do not be pretentious!

MB 5
1 yaa hadiir en-nḥal
1 Oh, bee murmuring!
2 wa-nḥaal maa riitha
2 And I have not seen the bees.
3 ɛamret blaad en-naas
3 I came to live in a strange land

4 wa-diyaali xallitha
4 And I had left mine!

MB 6
1 ṭir el-ḥmaam diyaali
1 Fly, my pigeon,
2 wa-nzel ɛala maa ḥabbeet
2 And reach the person I love.
3 el-maḥbuub diyaali
3 My sweetheart
4 šmaaɛa f qaaɛa l-beyt
4 Is like a candle [lighting] my room.

MB 7
1 el-waad ḥaamel ḥaamel
1 The river is filled with water
2 haa-l-waad be qṣaabu
2 The river and also the reed growing along it
3 Alla yeziid f yaamek
3 May God lengthen your days,
4 yaa l-maḥbuub wa-ṣaḥbu
4 My sweetheart and your friends!

MB 8
1 yaa hadiir en-nḥal
1 Oh, bee murmuring!
2 lli daaxel fi jaaba
2 It is coming from the beehive.
3 xalli z-ziin n muulaa
3 Let the beauty stay with its owner,
4 ɛalaaš ɛaleyk teddaaha
4 Why would you be pretentious?

B Biarnay (Biarnay 1924: 105-110)

B 1
1 ṣalliw ɛala Moḥamed
1 Bless Muhammed,
2 ṣalliw ɛala Moḥi d-Diin
2 Bless Mohiddin,[126]
3 seyyidna Mohammed
3 Our Master Muhammed
4 yešfaɛ f el-muḥibbiin
4 Protects the ones who love him

[126] Mohiddin, identified.

B 2
1 ṣalliw ɛala Moḥamed
1 Bless Muhammed,
2 ṣalliw ɛala ɛibaadu
2 Bless His servants,
3 seyyidna Mohammed
3 Our Master Muhammed
4 wa-ḥna ɛabiid quddaamu
4 And we are His servants [stretched] before Him.

B 3
1 siidii l-ḥbiib yaa l-ɛaali
1 The tall tomb of Sidi el-ḥabib[127]
2 be l-belj wa r-riyaaḥa
2 Has a lock and a window.
3 ɛaynu ɛala kull ṭriiq
3 His eyes are peering into each road,
4 wa-dmuuɛi sayyaaḥa
4 And my tears are falling down.

B 4
1 men wuraa l-jbel jeblayn
2 There are two mountains behind the mountain,
2 alla yeqawwi ḥarmak
2 May God strengthen your sacred place,
3 yaa sbaɛ siidi Ḥuseyn
3 Oh, Sidi Hussein,[128] the Lion!

B 5
1 diik el-maḥajj de ṣ-ṣulṭaan
1 Oh, that Road of the Sultan!
2 yaa l-madhuuk be l-ḥaafer
2 Tambed by horse hooves.
3 wa-na maɛak be n-niya
3 I put trust in you,
4 wa-nta qalbak kaafer
4 And you have a betrayer's heart!

B 6
1 daak eḍ-ḍhar yaa l-ɛaali
1 That high hill,
2 wa-f raasu n-nwaala
2 There is a small house on top of it.
3 fiiha nbaat wa-nqayyil
3 I spend there my nights and days,

---

127 Sidi el-Habib, identified.

128 Sidi Hussein, unidentified.

4 ḥetta tjii z-zellaala
4 Waiting for a passionate woman to come.

B 7

1 ɛayyiw yaa l-banaat
1 Sing, oh, girls!
2 nesmaɛ lghaakum
2 Let me hear your voices!
3 daak r-rijaal men muuraya
3 Those men behind my back -
4 maa nṣiib nelqaakum
4 There is no chance for me to join you.

B 8

1 yaa l-xwitma de n-naqra
1 Oh, silver ring
2 fe ṣ-ṣubayyaɛ l-yumna
2 Put on my right hand's little finger,
3 qul ewa wulla laa
3 Tell me 'yes' or 'no',
4 maa kaan ɛalaaš tɛaddebni
4 There is no reason to torment me!

B 9

1 laain maaši yaa haadaak
1 Where are you going to, Mister?
2 w-aana ɛaleyk netḍammem
2 Let me join you!
3 qelt li be n-naḍra
3 He gave me a look,
4 ɛassaw maa tkallem
4 Because they put a guard on him and he cannot talk.

B 10

1 aa yaa ḥammaar ez-zeyt
1 Oh, you, who transport olive oil
2 kaan le l-mdiina raayaḥ
2 He was heading for city
3 addi slaami le ḥbiibi
3 Pass my regards to my sweetheart,
4 wa-qul lu lla yesaameḥ
4 Tell him God will forgive him

B 11

1 daak el-ghadiir ez-zarga
1 That blue lake,
2 maa telḥaqha ši ṣ-ṣanaara
2 Fishing hooks do not reach its bottom.

3 el-waḥš yimma wa-baabaa
3 Love to my Mother and Father
4 nemši maɛa l-ḥammaara
4 [will make me] Travel with those who transport goods.

B 12
1 diik el-ɛaqiiba l-ḥamra
1 That red hill,
2 wa-z-zraɛ maa fiihaa ši
2 There is no greenery on it.
3 blaadkum ɛajbatni
3 I liked your land
4 wa-l-hwaa maa fiihaa ši
4 But there is not enough [fresh] air in it.

B 13
1 ayaa hadiir en-naḥla
1 Oh, bee murmuring!
2 wa-n-naḥla maa riithaa
2 And I have not seen the bee.
3 ɛammart blaad en-naas
3 I came to live in a strange land
4 wa-diyaali xalliithaa
4 And I had left mine!

B 14
1 daak eḍ-ḍhar yaa l-ɛaali
1 That high hill,
2 yaa l-mazruuɛ be l-jelbaan
2 Planted with green pea.
3 wa-ṭ-ṭolba saadaati
3 While religios students, my friends, circulate around the country!
4 mutwaḥḥiin fe l-buldaan
4 Inspired in the countries.

B 15
1 wa-l-waad ḥaamel ḥaamel
1 And the river is filled with water
2 wa-ida ḥmel nɛaddiwhaa
2 And if it is filled with water, we will cross it!
3 ed-dnuub maktuub fe r-raas
3 Our sins have been destined for us,
4 wa-laa budda nwaddiwhaa
4 So we cannot avoid committing them!

B 16
1 wa-l-waad ḥaamel ḥaamel
1 And the river is filled with water,

2 wa-iḥna gheir msaamiih
2 So we can only walk along it.
3 wa-iḥna gheir mašiinaa f ḥaalna
3 We have gone away
4 kull ši bqa l mwaaliih
4 And everything is now left for its owners.

B 17

1 raani f qabri maḥduud
1 I am lying in my grave,
2 ṭaaḥ et-traab ɛaleyya
2 The earth has covered me!
3 rfadd raasi lilla
3 I turned my head toward God
4 wa-r-ruuḥ maa hiya fiyya
4 And my soul had left me.

B 18

1 yaa ḥammaar es-sardiin
1 Oh you, who transports sardines,
2 kull ši yetbaaɛ f s-suuq
2 Everything can be bought in the market,
3 gheyr rḍa el-waaldiin
3 Except for your parents' blessings!

B 19

1 eṣ-ṣayf ṣayyafnaa
1 We spent the harvest time
2 wa-l-ɛayš maa ḍamanna
2 But life does not have any guaranties.
3 wa-l-galsa mɛa l-aḥbaab
3 Time spend with friends,
4 walla maa šabaɛnaa
4 I swear to God, we cannot have enough of it.

B 20

1 gharred yaa l-ḥmaam
1 Sing, oh, pigeon, sing!
2 gharred lilla laa tḥannin ši
2 Sing but please do not be too tender
3 qalbi mriid mujarraḥ
3 My heart is aching and hurt,
4 lilla maa tziiduu ši
4 Please do not add more to it!

B 21

1 yella mɛaaya
1 Let us go together

2 wa-nsaariik f jnaani
2 I will stroll with you in my garden.
3 lilla ida nmuut yaa maḥbuubi
3 I swear by God, my sweetheart, if I die,
4 maa ɛandak faayn traani
4 You will not see me anymore.

APPENDIX II

Interviews with Mohammed Laaroussi, Lahcen Laaroussi, Latifa Laaroussia, and Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi

Interviews with Mohammed Laaroussi and Latifa Laaroussia were held in person early September 2010 during my last field trip to Morocco. These interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed and translated into English. Interviews with Latifa Laaroussia were held during her short stay in Chefchaouen at the end of Ramadan. Interviews with Mohammed Laaroussi were held at his home in Fes. The transcribed interview texts were authorized by the interviewees.

These interviews could not happen without generous help of Mohammed Laaroussi, the eldest son of Latifa Laaroussia, who not only organized them but also most actively participated in them, often playing the role of the link between *ɛayla ruumiya*, or a foreign girl with a funny accent and tendency to use use non-Jbala vocabulary, and *naas d jbaala*, or, Jbala people.

Interviews 1 and 2 with Mohammed Laaroussi were held and recorded at Mohammed Laaroussi's home in Fes. People participated in the interview: Mohammed Laaroussi (referred to as ML in the text), his younger brother Abdessalam (referred to as AL in the text), Mohammed Laaroussi (referred to as ML1 in the text), Sarali Gintsburg (referred to as SG). The length of Interview 1 is 7 minutes 53 seconds, the length of Interview 2 is 13 minutes 16 seconds.

Interview 3 with Lahcen Laaroussi was held over the phone in March, 2010. It was not audio recorded but I wrote notes during our phone conversation. The length of Interview 3 was about 20 minutes.

Interviews 4 and 5 with Latifa Laaroussia were held and recorded at Latifa's home. People participated in the interview: Latifa Laaroussia (referred to as LL in the text), her son Mohammed Laaroussi (referred to as ML1 in the text), Sarali Gintsburg (referred to as SG). The length of Interview 4 is 11 minutes 35 seconds, the length of Interview 5 is 15 minutes 49 seconds.

Interview 6 with Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi was held in January 2007 at a recording studio in Chefchaouen. This interview lasted, with numerous breaks, for over 3 hours. It was not audio recorded, however, during it I made numerous notes.

In the main body of the research, the interviews referred to as follows:

- Interview 1 – ML: 1, 2010;
- Interview 2 – ML: 2, 2010;
- Interview 3 – LL1, 2010;
- Interview 4 – LL2: 1, 2010;
- Interview 5 – LL2: 2, 2010;
- Interview 6 – AA, 2007.

APPENDIX III

Structuring Formulas, Content Formulas, and Lines with 'Formulaic Elements'

Tables A.III.1, A.III.2 and A.III.3 contain instances of formulaicity found in the texts. Table A.III.1 contains structural formulas, Table A.III.2 content formulas, Table A.III.3 contains all lines with 'formulaic elements'. The first two tables also give information about possible variations of formulas, genres where they are used, and place of occurrence, i.e., song and line number and its author. To give to the reader the maximally full picture of formulaicity in the Jbala tradition, I included as well traditional classification of formulas, described in Section 4.2.1. Abbreviations used: repetition – R, syntactic formula – S, formulaic system – FS, parallelism – P, chorus – CH, prelude – P. Sometimes one formula can fall into two or three categories. Table A.II.3 together with lines with 'formulaic elements' give information about the genres and place of occurrence.

Core Corpus: Songs 1-5 belong to Med Laaroussi (ML 1-5), songs 6-11 belong to Lahcen Laaroussi (LL1 6-11), songs 12-17 belong to Latifa Laaroussia (LL2 12-17), songs 18-22 belong to Abdelmalek al-Andaloussi (AA 18-22).

Secondary Corpus: songs 23-27 belong to Mohammed al-Ghiyathi (MG 23), Mohammed al-Ayachi (MA 24), Rhimou Ouazzania (RO 25), Abdelhaq Laaroussi (AL 26), and Abdessalam al-Khomsi (AKH 27) respectively. Finally, poetic lines from Michaux-Bellaire (MB) published in *Archives Marocaines* (1911: 153-155) and poetic lines from Bairnay (B) published in *Notes d'Ethnographie Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines* (1924: 104-110) can be found in Appendix I. *Aytas* collected by Michaux-Bellaire are marked as MB Ayta 1-MB Ayta 5, *ayyuus* collected by Michaux-Bellaire are marked as MB 1-MB 8. Finally, ayyuus collected by Biarnay are marked as B 1-B 21. Formulas from Michaux-Bellaire found in *aytas* are cited in French with an English translation.

Table A.III. 1: Structural Formulas (Clas. = Classification)

No	Formula and variations	Translation	Genre	Position	Clas.	Occurrence
1	1 aa lalla ilaali/ aa wa-yaa lalla illali	n/a	ughniya	Beginning	R	ML (2: 1-2, 3: 1-2, 4: 1-2)
	2 yaa lallaa wa-ha yaa laalli		ughniya			ML (4: 1)
	3 aa wa-yaa lalla yellali		ughniya			AKH (27: 1)
	4 aa laalla wa-ilaali		ughniya			LL2 (13: CH 1)
	5 aa wa-la yalla ilaali		ughniya			MG (23: 2)
2	1 aa bismilla aa bdiina/ wa-ɛala n-nbi ṣalliina/ wa-seyyidna Mḥammed/ wa-huwa šaafeɛ fiina	In the name of God we begin/ And we blessed the Prophet/ Our Master Muhammed/ He is our patron	ayta	Beginning	R	LL1 (10: 1-4) LL1 (11: 1-4)
	2 ṣalliw ɛala Mḥammad/ ṣalliw ɛala Moḥiddiin/ seyyidna Mohammed/ yešfaɛ f el-muḥibbiin	Bless Muhammed,/ Bless Mohiddin, Our Master Muhammed/ Protects the ones who love him	ayyuu	n/a		B (1: 1-4)
3	1 aa Šaama wa-raaḥ el-leyl	Ah Shama, the night is over!	ayata, ughniya	Chorus	R	LL2 (16: CH 1: 1) LL2 (17: CH 3: 1) MG (23: CH 2: 1) MA (24: CH 3: 1)
4	1 liil yaa liil/ anaari mḥaayni	Night oh night/ Oh, my worries'	ayta	Chorus	R FS	LL1 (11: CH: 1-2) ML (1: CH 4: 1-2)
	2 leyl yaa leyl/ ana li blaadi	Night, oh, night,/ I belong to my country	ayta			ML (1: CH 4: 1-2)
	3 aana wa-yaa blaadi l-ḥurma	Me and my sacred country!	ughniya			MA (24: 16)
	4 aa blaadi	Oh, my country!	ayta			ML (1: CH 8: 1)
5	1 wa-hya l-wulaad	Oh, come on guys!	ayta	Chorus	R	LL2 (17: CH 1: 1) LL1 (10: CH 1)
	2 aa hyaa l-wulaad	Ah, come on guys!	ughniya			MG (23: CH 1: 1)
	3 yaa-l-wulaad	Oh, come on guys!	ughniya			MA (24: CH 2: 1)
6	1 wa-yaa l-ḥbaa	And oh, my friends!	ayta	Chorus	R FS S	AL (26: CH 2: 1)
	2 wa-lla wa-maalkum yaa l-ḥbaab	And what is wrong with you, oh, my friends?	ayta			ML (1: CH 1: 1)

No	Formula and variations	Translation	Genre	Position	Clas.	Occurrence
	3 wa-hiya wa-maalkum l-aḥbaab	And what is wrong with you, my friends?	ayta			ML (1: CH 1: 1)
	4 aa yaa l-graan	And oh, my companions!	ayta			ML (1: CH 1: 1)
	5 aa l-graan	Oh, my companions!	ayta			ML (1: CH 7: 1) AL (26: CH 5: 1)
	6 wa-maalkum yaa l-graan	What is wrong with you my companions?	ayta			ML (1: CH 2: 1)
	7 wa-yaa l-graan wa-yaa l-ḥbaab	And oh, my friends and oh, companions	ayta			ML (1: CH 7: 1)
	8 wa-yaa l-ḥbaab aa l-graan	And oh, my friends oh, companions	ayta			ML (1: CH 7: 1)
7	1 haad el-ɛaar ɛaleykum	Shame on you!	ayta	Chorus	R	LL2 (17: CH 2: 1) ML (1: CH 3: 1) AL (26: CH 3: 1)

Table A.III.2: Content Formulas (Clas. = Classification)

No	Formula and variations	Translation	Genre	Clas.	Occurrence
1	1 wa-raanii f raas el-naxla	Here I am sitting on top of the palm tree	ughniya	R	LL2 (12: 5)
	2 wa-raani f raas el-ε anṣaar	Here I am at the water spring	ughniya		LL2 (12: 9)
	3 yaa wa-raanii f-raaṣ el-ḥaanuut	Here I am in a store	ughniya		LL1 (8: 15)
2	1 yalla mɛaaya yalla/ netsaaraw fe-l-ɛaašiya	Let us go together/ And stroll in the evening	ughniya	R FS	LL2 (12: 13-14)
	2 aa yella mɛaaya yella/ n Faas netsaaraawa	Ah let us go together/ To Fes and stroll!	ayta		AL (26: 7-8)
	3 yella mɛaaya yella/ yella mɛaaya ne Teṭwaan	Let us go together/ Let us go together to Tetouan	ayta		AL (26: 11-12)
	4 yella mɛaaya/ wa-nsaariik f jnaani	Let us go together/ I will stroll with you in my garden	ayyuu		B (21: 1-2)
3	1 ṭalɛuu njuum el-qibla/ haadi muuraa haadi/ ṭ-ṭaalba rabbi l-ɛaali/ yeqḍii lii muraadi	The stars of the Qibla have appeared,/ One after another/ 'I am asking you my Lord, the Exalted,/ To help me to realize my dream'	ughniya	R	LL2 (13: 5-8)
	2 wa-ṭalɛu njuum l-Qibla haadi muuraa haadi/ neṭlub siidii rabbii/ rabbi yufii li muraadi	The stars of the Qibla have appeared,/ One after another./ I am asking you my Lord and Master,/ To make my dream come true	ayta		ML (1: 51-54)
4	1 wa-l-jliilba l-kaḥla/ beyna druub yešaalii/ xarju wlaad de-l-ḥwiima/ kullha tquul dyaali	And this black jellaba/ Is hanging around between narrow streets/ As guys from [our] quarter went out,/ Each one is saying: 'it is mine!'	ughniya	R	LL2 (13: 13-16)
	2 aa wa-maa l-jlilba l-kaḥla/ be d-druub yešaali/ wa-xurjuu wlaad el-ḥwiima/ kullha tquul dyaali	Ah and here is this black jellaba/ Is hanging around narrow streets/ And as guys from [our] quarter went out,/ Each one is saying: 'it is mine!'	ayta		AL (26: 27-30)
5	1 l-waad ḥaamel ḥaamel	The river is filled with water	ughniya	R	LL2 (15: 5)
	2 wa-l-waad ḥaamel ḥaamel	And the river is filled with water	ayyuu		B (15: 1-4) B (16: 1-4) MB (7: 1-4)

No	Formula and variations	Translation	Genre	Clas.	Occurrence
6	1 el-ɛamda ɛaleyk aa raasi	I count [only] on myself	ughniya	S FS	LL2 (15: 19-20)
	2 wa-maa l-ɛamda ɛ aleyk yaa saareḥ	I count on you, shepherd,	ayta		ML (1: 37)
7	1 aa wa-maa ṣlaa ɛala Mḥammed/ aa wa-maa nṣallii mɛakum/ aa wa-zuyaar rasuul alla/ aa wa-ɛabbiwna fe-ḥmaakum	Ah and here is the blessing to Muhammed/ Ah and here I am praying with you/ Ah pilgrims to the shrine of the Prophet of God!/ Ah take us under your protection!	ayta	R FS P	LL2 (17: 1-4) LL1 (11: 5-8)
	2 zuyar rasuul allah/ wa-ɛabbiwna f ḥmakum	Pilgrims to the shrine of the Prophet of God!/ Take us under your protection!	ayta		LL2 (16: 2-3)
	3 aa wa-ila rḍiitu biiya/ aa wa-maa ḥna ṭaalbiin ḥmaakum	And if you are happy with me,/ We are here, asking for your protect-tion.	ughniya		MA (24: 3-4)
8	1 wa-maa Buu Hlaal aa Buu Hlaal/ wa-maa Buu Hlaal be r-riiba/ wa-xurjuu mennu l-rijaal/ wa-xallaw fii l-hiiba	And here is Bu Hlal, ah Bu Hlal/ And here is Bu Hlal in ruins/ The men abandoned it/ And left their fears in it	ayta	R	LL2 (16: 8-11) LL2 (17: 18-21)
	2 wa-maa Buu Hlaal aa Buu Hlaal/ wa-maa Buu Hlaal be r-riiba/ wa-xurjuu mennu l-ɛaaylaat/ wa-xallaw fii l-hiiba	And here is Bu Hlal, ah, Bu Hlal/ And here is Bu Hlal in ruins/ The women have abandoned it/ And left fear in it	ayta		LL1 (10: 29-32) LL1 (11: 29-32)
9	1 wa-ṭulɛuu ṭ-ṭolba yezuuruu/ aa wa-ṭulɛuu be-l-jalaala/aa wa-muulaay ɛAbdessalaam/ aa wa-huwa šeyx a jbaala	Ah those who know the Qur'an by heart went to visit (his shrine),/ Ah and they went extolling God/ Ah and Moulay Abdessalam/ Ah he is the patron of the Jbala	ayta	FS P	LL2 (17: 5-8) LL1 (11: 9-12)
	2 ṭ-ṭaalɛiin yezuuruu/ aa wa-ṭaalɛiin be l-jalaala/ aa wa-muulaay ɛAbdesslaam/ yaa qandiil Jbaala	[We] are going to visit [his shrine]/ Ah and we are going [there] extolling God/ Ah and Moulay Abdessalam/ [he is] the oil lamp of the Jbala!	ayta		MA (24: 11-14)

No	Formula and variations	Translation	Genre	Clas.	Occurrence
	3 aa wa-ṭulɛuu ṭ-ṭolba yezuuruu/ aa wa-fe-l-ɛaqba yertaaḥu/ aa wa-muulaay ɛAbdessalaam/ aa wa-warriwni martaaḥu	Ah those who know the Qur'an by heart went to visit [his shrine],/ Ah they are resting on the mountainside/ Ah and Moulay Abdessalam,/ Ah and show me the place where he has reposed	ayta		LL1 (11: 13-16)
10	1 aa wa-beyna duwaar wa-diyar/ aa wa-muulaay Buu Štaa l-Xemmaar	Ah and between the village and houses!/ Ah and Moulay Bu Shta el-Khemmar!	ayta	R FS	LL2 (17: 10-11) LL1 (11: 21-22) AL (26: 56-59)
	2 wa-muulaay Buu Štaa l-Xemmaar/ wa-maa zaynu be l-xḍuura	Moulay Bu Shta el-Khemmar/ Here is its beauty in green	ayta		ML (1: 6-7)
11	1 aa wa-siidii ɛAllaal el-Ḥaaj/ aa wa-huwa ɛaalam ez-zuyaar	Oh, and Sidi Allal el-Hajj,/ Oh, he is the banner for pilgrims	ayta	FS R	LL 2 (17: 12-13) LL1 (11: 23-24)
	2 siidii ɛAllaal el-Ḥaajj/ wa-huwa š-šaafeɛ fiikum	Oh, and Sidi Allal el-Hajj,/ Ah and he is your patron	ughniya		MA (24: 18-19)
	3 siidii ɛAbdelwaarit	Sidi Abdelwarit	ayta		ML (1 P: 5)
12	1 aa wa-fiin ṭarṭaaq el-baruut/ aa wa-beyn el-Fes wa-Ghzaawa/ aa wa-ɛazzuu ɛaleyna l-meyta/ aa wa-maa l-mejruuḥ yeddaawa	Ah and there are sounds of gun-powder explosions/ Ah and between Fes and Ghzawa/ Ah and we mourn our dead ones/ Ah and the wounded will recover	ayta	FS	LL2 (17: 14-17)
	2 aa wa-fiin ṭarṭaaq el-baruut/ aa wa-be-l-Hawta de Ghzaawa/ aa wa-ɛazzuu ɛaleyna l-muuta/ aa wa-maa l-jaraḥ yeddaawa	Ah and there are sounds of gun-powder explosions/ Ah and in el-Hawta of Ghzawa/ Ah and we mourn our dead ones/ Ah and these wounds are self-healing	ayta		LL1 (11: 37-40)
	3 wa-maa ṭarṭaaq el-baruut/ fe-j-jbel de-Bni Darkuul	There are sounds of gun-powder explosions/ In the mountain of Bni Darkul	ayta		ML (1: 27-28)
	4 Les gerbes de fusils sont dressées au marché de l'Arba	Explosions of gunshots were made in the bazaar of al-Arba	ayta		MB (ayta 5)
13	1 yaa wa-lalla blaadi lalla	Oh, my dear country, my Madam!	ughniya	FS	LL1 (6: 1)
	2 lalla blaadi Šaawen	Lalla, my country Chefchaouen!	ughniya		LL2 (15: 1)

No	Formula and variations	Translation	Genre	Clas.	Occurrence
	3 aa wa-yaa l-warda yaa lalla	Ah rose, oh, Lalla!	ughniya		LL2 (13: 1) RO (25: 1)
	4 aana l-warda yaa l-warda	Me [and] a rose, oh, rose!	ughniya		MG (23: 3, 7)
	5 wa-yaa alla yaa ben ɛammi	Oh God, oh my cousin,	ughniya		LL2 (14: 3, 7, 11, 15)
	6 wa-yaa alla yaa ben ɛammi	Oh mother, oh father,	ughniya		ML (4 CH: 1)
	7 yaa ila wa-yaa l-ɛaali	Oh, my Lord, oh, the Exalted!	ayta		LL2 (16: 1)
	8 aa xaay yaa l-ɛaziiz	Ah my dear brother	ughniya		AA (20 CH: 1, 1, 4, 7)
	9 yaa mulaati aa Šaama	Oh, my dear Shama	ughniya		AA (21 CH: 1)
	10 aa yaa lalla yaa yimma	Ah my Lalla, oh, Mother	ughniya		AKH (27: 1)
	11 l-waalida aa l-waalida	Mother, ah Mother!	ughniya		LL2 (12 CH: 1)
14	1 yaa wa-bayna l-jbaal jeblayn	Oh, between mountains there are two mountains	ughniya	FS	LL1 (6: 5)
	2 men wuraa l-jbel jeblayn	There are two mountains behind the mountain	ayyuu		B (4: 1)
15	1 aa wa-ila lqiitu ḥabiibi/ quuluu alla yesaameḥ	If you meet my sweetheart,/ Tell him that God will forgive him	ughniya	FS R	LL1 (6: 11-12)
	2 wa-ila mšaa li ḥabiibii/ syaadii wa-limen niškii	And if my sweetheart leaves me,/ To whom can I complain, people?	ughniya		LL1 (8: 5-6)
	3 lilla yaa muul ṭunubiil/ šmen e-mdiina raayaḥ/ wa-ila lqiituu ḥabiibii/ quuluu alla yesaamaḥ	Please, you, car-driver,/ Which city you are heading for?/ If you meet my sweetheart,/ Tell him that God will forgive him	ughniya		LL1 (8: 11-14)
	4 aa yaa ḥemmaar ez-zeyt/ kaan le l-mdiina raayeḥ/ ddi slaami l ḥbiibi/ wa-qul lu lla yesaameḥ	Oh, you, who transport olive oil/ He was heading for city/ Pass my regards to my sweetheart,/ Tell him God will forgive him	ayyuu		B (10: 1-4)
16	1 yaa wa-maa dardaarat el-waad/ yaa l-mḥarrfa be-l-maaḍi/yaa ɛamda ɛaleyk yaa raasi/ fiinmaa mšiit be l-ḥaaḍi	Oh, elm-tree by the river!/ Encrypted by the past,/ I count on myself/Wherever I go - I should be careful!	ughniya	R	LL1 (6: 17-20)

No	Formula and variations	Translation	Genre	Clas.	Occurrence
17	1 yaa lalla ɛayni tebkii/ la-tebkii u-tebekkii	Oh, Lalla, my eyes are crying,/ They are crying and making others cry	ughniya	R S FS	LL1 (8: 3-4)
	2 lalla ɛayna tibki/ wa-la-nqaṭṭar dmuuɛii	Lalla, my eyes are crying/ And tears are running drop after drop	ughniya		LL1 (9: 5-6)
	3 yaa wa-lalla ɛaayni tebkii/ wa-maa dmuuɛi ɛala xeddii	Oh, Lalla, my eyes are crying,/ They are crying and making others cry	ughniya		LL1 (8: 7-8) ML (2)
18	1 wa-msa l-xeyr ɛ aleykum/ wa-naɛma lla msaakum	Good evening to you,/ May your evening be blessed by God	ayta	P	ML (1:1-2)
	2 aana wa-naɛma lla s-sabuuɛ/ aa wa-faateḥ el-xeyr ɛaleykum	Me and God blessed the Seventh day!/ Ah and gave you goodness!	ughniya		MA (24: 1-2)
19	1 wa-maa biyaa šii l-ghurba/ l-furqa ɛan wulaadii	I am not in a strange land,/ I am not separated from my children	ughniya	R	LL1 (8: 9-10) ML (2: 7-8)
20	1 lla yehanniik yaa baaba	May God bless you, my Father!	ughniya	R	LL1 (9: CH 1)
	2 alla yehanniik yaa belaad	May God bless you, my country,	ughniya		ML (2: CH 1)
21	1 bghiit nxruj wa-njuul wa-nšuuf/ ana lqiit raaṣi	I wanted to go out, walk , and gaze,/ I met him myself	ughniya	R	LL1 (9: 1-2)
	2 a xerijt njuul wa-nšuuf/ aana lqiit a raaṣii	I wanted to stroll and gaze,/ I met him myself	ughniya		ML (2: 13-14)
22	1 maana yaa f daari/ wa-laa ḥbaabi wa-laa naasi	I am not at my home,/ Not with and my relatives and my family	ughniya	FS R	LL1 (9: 3-4)
	2 maanii yaa be-l-paspoor/ maanii yaa be-l-viiza	I do not have a passport/ [and] I do not have a viza	ughniya		LL1 (9: 11-12)
	3 maa naa f-daarii wa-laa ḥbaabii/ wa-laa hlii wa-laa naasii	I am not at my home and my relatives,/ My family and folks are not with me	ughniya		ML (2: 15-16)
23	1 xarrejni men blaadi/ wa-blaadi ɛaziiza ɛaleyya	He lured me away from my country/ And my country is dear to me!	ughniya	R FS	LL1 (9: 9-10)
	2 ḥetta xarrejni min daarii/wa-ḍḥak ɛaleyya	So he lured me away from my home/ And mocked at me	ughniya		ML (2: 17-18)

No	Formula and variations	Translation	Genre	Clas.	Occurrence
24	1 wa-l-wlaad yaa l-Mestaari/ wa-maa l-waad f-el-Ḥarraaqiin/ wa-ɛaawen yaa le-l-mujaahdiin/ wa-maanaa f ez-Zuwwaaqiin	People, ah of el-Mestari/ And here is river in el-Harraqin/ Help to the warriors/ And here I am in ez-Zuwwaqin	ayta	R	LL1 (10: 9-12)
	2 aa wa-l-wlaad yaa l-Messaari/ wa-xaarej men el-Ḥarraaqiin/ wa-ɛaawen yaa le l-mujaahdiin/ wa-maa l-ḥarb fe z-Zuwwaaqiin	People, ah of el-Mestari/ And they outside of el-Harraqin,/ Help to the warriors/ And there is war in ez-Zuwwaqin	ayta		AL (26: 47-50)
25	1 wa-Bni Slaas be-l-Jaaya/ wa-temma ṭaaḥ el-maqaam/ wa-maa bnaat de Ṣeṭṭa/ xeṣṣum l-hraawa le-r-raaṣ	And Beni Slas in el-Jaya/ There the tomb was erected,/ And here are girls of Setta/ Their heads cry out to be beaten with cudgel	ayta	R	LL1 (10: 13-16)
	2 aa wa-beyna s-Slaas wa-l-Jaaya/ temma ṭaaḥ el-maqaṣṣ/ aa wa-l-bnaat de- ṢeṭṭA/ aa xeṣṣ yaa l-hraawa le r-raas	And between Slas and el-Jaya,/ There was a bloody battle,/ And here are girls of Setta,/ Their heads cry out to be beaten with cudgel	ayta		AL (26: 39-42)
26	1 blaadi yaa Bni Zerwaal/ hya qbiila d-el-xulafaa/ wa-maa ila xfaat ɛaleykum/ be l-xayraat maɛruufa	My country, oh, Bni Zerwal/ It is the tribe of the caliphs/ And if you meet them/ They are well known for their good deeds	ayta	P R	LL1 (10: 17-20)
	2 arbaɛa de-l-xulafaa/ kullhum fe Bni Zerwaal	The four caliphs/ All of them in Bni Zerwal	ayta		ML (1: 13-14)
	3 aa blaadi yaa Bni Zerwaal/ yaa qbiilta l-xulafaa/ ila xfat ɛaleykum/ be l-xayraat maɛruufa	Ah my country, oh, Bni Zerwal!/ The tribe of the caliphs,/ And if you meet them,/ They are well known for their good deeds	ayta		AL (26: 19-22)
27	1 wa-maa š-Šaawen yaa l-xaḍraa	And here is Chefchaouen, oh, the green	ayta	S FS R	LL1 (10: 21-24)
	2 maa Tanja yaa l-ɛaalya/ maa hiya l-ɛaalya be swaariiha	Here is Tangier, oh, the high/ here it is high with its walls!	ayta		AL (26I: 15-16)
	3 yaa ṣṭeyyiḥ el-ɛaali	Oh, high roof!	ughniya		LL2 (15:13)

No	Formula and variations	Translation	Genre	Clas.	Occurrence
	4 aa wa-lalla Tanja ɛaalya/ aa wa-l-ɛaayla b sarja	Ah Lalla Tangier is high/ High and [illuminated with] bright lights!	ughniya		RO (25: 13-14)
	5 wa-l-ɛaalya fooq eš-Šaawen	[it] Dominates Chefchaouen!	ayta		LL2 (16: 5)
	6 ṣaayga ɛala Teṭṭaawen	And continue to Tetouan.	ayta		LL2 (16: 6)
28	1 wa-yaɛjibnii waad eṣ-ṣṭaaḥ/ wa-yaɛjibnii be-ḥjaaru / wa-l-ḥbiib muulaay ɛAbsaam/ wa-saɛdat yaa lli zaaruu	I like river es-Stah/ And I like it because of its stones/ (Our) beloved Moulay Abdessalam,/ Happy are those who have visited (his shrine).	ayta	R	LL1 (10: 25-28) AL (26: 52-55)
	2 aa wa-yaɛjibni waad eṣ-ṣṭaaḥ/ wa-yaɛjibni be ḥjaaru/ wa-Muulaay ɛAbdessalaam/ saɛdat lli zaaruu	I like river es-Stah/ And I like it because of its stones/ (Our) Moulay Abdessalam/ Happy are those who have visited (his shrine)	ayta		AL (26: 2-5)
	3 L'Oued Settah m'a plu/ et ses roches étaient sur son bord/ Notre bien aimé, Moulay Abdessalam!/ C'est nous qui sommes ses serviteurs!	I like river es-Stah/And stones along its cost/ (Our) beloved Moulay Abdessalam/ We are his servants!	ayta		MB (*ayta* 2I)
29	1 aa wa-yaa l-waad Buu ɛAdeel/ aa wa-xaarij le-ṣ-Ṣeyyaaghiin/ aa wa-eš xarrejni men blaadi/ aa wa-qabl men bayyaa ɛiin	Oh, river Bu Adel!/ Ah it disgorges to es-Seyyaghin/ Ah what had lured me out of my country/ Ah and long time before unscrupulous people [have appeared].	ayta	R	LL1 (11:17-20)
	2 aa wa-yaa l-waad Buu ɛAdel/ xaarej le ṣ-Ṣeyyaaghiin/ wa-xarrejni men blaadi/ qabla men bayyaɛiin	Oh, river Bu Adel!/ Ah it disgorges to es-Seyyaghin/ And it had lured me out of my country/ Long time before unscrupulous people [have appeared].	ayta		AL (26: 43-46)

No	Formula and variations	Translation	Genre	Clas.	Occurrence
30	aa wa-maa hya jbiyal Zarhuun/ aa wa-fiih eḍ-ḍow wa-fiih ez-zeyt/ aa wa-lla yeqawwii ḥarmak/ aa wa-ṣulṭaan muulaay Idriis	Ah and here is the small mountain of Zarhuun/ Ah and there is light and there is oil/ Ah and may God strengthen your sacred place/ Ah and sultan Moulay Idris	ayta	R FS	LL1 (11: 25-28)
	yaa jbiyal Zarhuun/ aa wa-fiihi ndaa wa-fiihi z-zeyt/ aana ɛabiid meftuun/ alla yetuub	Ah and here is the small mountain of Zarhoun/ Ah and there is light and there is oil/ I am [his] charmed servant/ [and] God is forgiving	ughniya		MA (24:5-8)
	alla yeqawwi ḥarmak/ yaa sbaɛ siidi Ḥusseyn	May God strengthen your sacred place,/ Oh, Sidi Hussein, the Lion!	ayyuu		B (4: 2-3)
31	1 šey illa haa-l-waalii/ siidii ɛAbdelwaarit	This saint is highly respected/ Sidi Abdelwarit	ayta	FS	ML (1 :10-11)
	2 wa-siidii Ḥmiid Ben Daḥmaan/ šey illa haa-l-waalii	And Sidi Hmid Ben Dahman/ This saint is highly respected.	ayta		ML (1: 12,14)
	3 wa-šay illa haa-l-waalii l-ɛalwa	This exalted saint is highly respected	ughniya		MA (24: 10, 15)
	4 wa-šay illa haa l-waalii	This saint is highly respected.	ayta		AL (26: 6)
	5 muulaay ɛAbdessalaam/ šay illa haa l-waali	Moulay Abdessalam,/ This saint is highly respected	ughniya		LL2 (14: 3,4)
	6 sidii l-waalii wa-šeḥaal maqbuul	My saint is so good.	ughniya		LL2 (14: 14)
	7 šay illa haa l-waalii	This saint is highly respected	ayta		LL2 (17: 9) LL2 (17: 13)
32	1 laa yimma laa baabaa	Neither Mother, nor Father	ughniya	R	LL1 (6: CH: 1-2) AA (19: CH: 1-2)
33	1 ɛandi ghziyal waaḥid	I have only one sweetheart	ayta	R	ML (1: 57-58) AL (26: 9-10)
34	1 wa-maa l-ɛAyn s-Slaasiya/ wa-maa s-saaleb el-ḥayyaani/ wa-maa l-ḥuzma de l-Jaaya/ be l-xayṭ el-ḥasani	Ah and here is Ayn Slasiya/ Ah and here is some nice hair/ Ah and here are belts (made by) el-Jaya/ Ah and (embroidered) with patterns of el-Hasani style	ayta	R	AL (26: 23-26, 60-63)

No	Formula and variations	Translation	Genre	Clas.	Occurrence
	2 aa wa-maa l-ɛAyn Slaasiiya/ aa wa-maa saalef ḥalyaanii/ aa wa-maa l-ḥuzma de l-Jaaya/ aa wa-be l-xayṭ el-ḥasani	Ah and here is Ayn Slasiya/ Ah and here is some nice hairAh and here are belts (made by) el-Jaya/ Ah and (embroidered) with patterns of el-Hasani style	ayta		LL1 (9: 33-36)
35	1 šḥaal fḥaalii taaquu /wa-mšaw ḍaḥiiya	How many (people) like me trusted/ And fell as prey?	ughniya	S FS	ML (2: 21-22)
	2 aa wa-men kiyyat ḥbiibi/wa-ana mšiit xṭiiya	Because of the burnt left by my sweetheart/ I did wrong things	ughniya		AKH (27: 13-14)
36	1 wa-ɛayni ɛala kull ṭriiq	And my eyes are peering into each road	ughniya	R	LL2 (12: 6)
	2 ɛaynu ɛala kull ṭriiq	His eyes are peering into each road	ayyuu		B (3: 3)
37	1 wa-yimma lalla yimma/ wa-xaayla rḍi ɛaleyya/ wa-ɛaql eṣ-ṣoghr aa yimma/ daaz ɛaleyk wa-ɛaleyya	My Mother, Lalla Mother!/ And bless me with your blessings!/ Childish mind, ah Mother,-/ We both have gone through this	ughniya	R FS	LL1 (12: 1-4)
	2 aa wa-yimma l-ḥbiiba wa-yimma/ maa tzebbel šii fiya/ ɛaql eṣ-ṣoghr aa yimma/ daaz ɛaleyk wa-ɛaleyya	Ah Mother, my beloved Mother!/ Do not be angry with me,/ Childish mind, ah Mother,-/ We both have gone through this.	ayta		AL (26: 31-34)
	3 aa wa-yimma l-ḥbiiba yimma	Ah Mother, my beloved Mother!	ayta		AL (26: 35)
	4 aa yaa lalla yaa yimma	Ah my Lalla Mother	ughniya		AKH (27: CH 1)
38	1 yaa wa-naṭlub rabbi l-ɛaali	And I am asking [a favor] from my Lord, the Exalted!	ughniya	R	LL1 (6: 3)
	2 šekwa n rabbi l-ɛaali	I complain to my Lord, the Exalted!	ughniya		LL2 (15: CH, 2)
39	1 wa-daaba yejiibak rabbi	And you are going to be in trouble.	ayta	R	ML (1: CH 5, 1)
	2 aa wa-l-yooma jaabek rabbi	And today you [finally] found yourself in trouble!	ughniya		RO (25: 12)
40	1 temma qalbak yetfajja	To the place where your heart was filled with joy.	ughniya	R	LL2 (14: 12)
	2 aa wa-qalbi la-yetfajja	My heart will be filled with with joy	ughniya		RO (25: 16)

No	Formula and variations	Translation	Genre	Clas.	Occurrence
41	1 faaš inti marbuuṭa	Are you [already] committed to someone?	ughniya	R	LL1 (6: 8)
	2 waxxa nkuu merbuuṭa	Even if I am committed to someone	ughniya		AKH (27: 19)
42	1 lillaa maa dahnuu šii	Do not apply to it [oil].	ayta	S	ML (1: 44)
	2 lilla maa tziiduu ši	Please do not add more to it!	ayyuu	R	B (20: 4)
43	1 yaa meršuuš be n-niiila	Covered by anilyn die!	ughniya	S	LL2 (15: 14)
	2 yaa l-madhuuk be l-ḥaafer	Tambed by horse hooves	ayyuu		B (5: 2)

Table A.III.3: 'Formulaic Elements'

No	Arabic	English	Genre	Occurrence
1	wa-maa siidii ɛAbdallaa	Here is Sidi Abdalla	ayta	ML (1: P 6)
2	wa-maa mḍowwar be ṣafṣaaf	[His shrine] is surrounded with poplar trees.	ayta	ML (1: P 7)
3	wa-maa-na ḥbuusi be lla	God will suffice me.	ayta	ML (1: P 8)
4	wa-maa ɛandi mnaaš nxaaf	I have nothing to be afraid of,	ayta	ML (1: P 9)
5	wa-maa n-naḍra f ujaakum	Here, I look at your faces;	ayta	ML (1: 4)
6	wa-maa l-fraaja menḍoora	Here is a nice fraaja	ayta	ML (1: 9)
7	wa-maa l-ḥaal qarreb le ṣ-ṣbaaḥ	Now it is almost morning	ayta	ML (1: 10)
8	wa-maa l-leyl baan ɛalaamu	Now the sign of night is clear	ayta	ML (1: 11)
9	wa-maa ḥta ila qeddaamu	And if [you are] near him [his shrine]	ayta	ML (1: 13)
10	wa-maa l-ḥadd ghadda wa-l-itneyn	Today is Sunday and tomorrow is Monday	ayta	ML (1: 16)
11	wa-maa qallet en-niya	Good intentions are rare [these days]	ayta	ML (1: 17)
12	wa-maa rbaḥt laana wa-laa ntiin	Neither me nor you benefited	ayta	ML (1: 18)
13	wa-maa l-ɛaam de l-ayaam	The year comprises of days	ayta	ML (1: 19)
14	wa-maa-na nḥaawel ɛaley	I defend him	ayta	ML (1: 20)
15	wa-maa smaɛt ši mennek	I did not hear anything from you	ayta	ML (1: 22)
16	wa-maa š-šamš raayḥa raayḥa	The sun is going down	ayta	ML (1: 23)
17	wa-maa ila wṣ elt n timm	If you arrived there	ayta	ML (1: 29)

No	Arabic	English	Genre	Occurrence
18	wa-maa l-ghaaba de Širqaan	Here is the forest of Shirqaan	ayta	ML (1: 31)
19	maa-raajla yerḍiiha	And here is the man who likes it	ayta	ML (1: 32)
20	maa ɛandi Ḥamaadi	I have my Hamadi	ayta	ML (1: 45)
21	wa-maana waaḥdi derraas	Here I thrash all alone	ayta	ML (1: 48)
22	maa tmattaɛha be l-ḥulwa	I entertain her with sweets	ayta	ML (1: 55)
23	wa-maa l-jbaal qraabu	The mountains became close	ayta	ML (1: 56)
24	maa sxiit šii be fraaqu	[and] I cannot leave him	ayta	ML (1: 58)
25	maa ɛarefna kiif ndiiru	We did not know what to do!	ughniya	ML (2: 6)
26	maa nhaajerha nḥibbha ɛala ṭawl el-ḥyaat	I will never leave it again, I will love it forever.	ughniya	ML (5: 14)
27	wa-maa l-ghurba muktaaba	Life in a strange land has been destined for me	ughniya	LL1 (9: 2)
28	wa-maa netsuwweq Wazzaan	Here I am trading in Ouazzane	ayta	LL1 (10: 5)
29	wa-maa nruuḥ le l-Qušriiyiin	And here I am going to el-Qushriyin	ayta	LL1 (10: 6)
30	wa-maa zgharet l-mekriyiin	And here cries of joy are uttered by the hired people	ayta	LL1 (10: 8)
31	wa-maa xeṣṣha gheyr teblaɛ	And all they want is to swallow [you]	ughniya	AA (19: 14)
32	maa txalli ši blaadak wa-blaadi	So do not leave our country!	ughniya	AA (21: 4)
33	maa bqa ḥaad f l-baadiya	No one is left in the countryside	ughniya	AA (21: 7)
34	maa tebqa š teṭallaɛ l-kiif	Stop growing kif	ughniya	AA (21: 9)
35	maa nsemḥuu ši fiiha	We will not give it away,	ayta	AA (22 CH: 8)
36	maa-nxalliwha ne-ṣ-ṣahyuun	We will not leave it to Zionists	ayta	AA (22: 9)
37	maa gheṭṭaa ši rbiiɛu	But did not cover the greenery	ughniya	LL2 (15: 6)
38	maa nrehnu wa-nbiiɛu	{and] I am not going to put it up or sell.	ughniya	LL2 (15: 8)
39	yaa wa-dxalt ɛaleyk bella	I came to you with good intentions	ughniya	LL1 (6: 7)
40	aa wa- ḥiyyaana	Oh, my shyness	ughniya	ML (2: 1)
41	yaa qliil en-niya	Oh, ill-intentioned?	ughniya	ML (2: 20)
42	aa yimma dyaali	Ah my Mother!	ughniya	ML (3 CH: 1)
43	yaa Rḥiimu miskiina	Oh, poor RHiimu,	ughniya	ML (3: 1, 9, 13, 17)

No	Arabic	English	Genre	Occurrence
44	aa wa-l-ghziyal dyaali	Oh, my handsome boy	ughniya	ML (4: 1, 23)
45	aa l-mešmuum dyaali	Oh, my bouquet,	ughniya	ML (4: 19)
46	yaa l-mešmuum de n-naawwar	Oh, my bouquet of wild flowers	ughniya	ML (4: 20)
47	wa-yaa l-maaši ṣaqṣi hwa	Oh, you, who is leaving, ask him	ughniya	LL1 (6: 9)
48	aa wa-yaa r-raajiɛ ṣaqṣi hwa	Ah you, who is returning back, ask him	ughniya	LL1 (6: 10)
49	yaa wa-ṭ-ṭaalɛa be l-fuuqi	You, girl, who is going upstairs	ughniya	LL1 (6: 13)
50	aa wa-diik l-ɛayuun el-kuḥl	Ah those black eyes!	ughniya	LL1 (6: 15)
51	aa yimma ṣaabra wai-nɛaddii	Oh mother you are patient and I do the best I can	ughniya	LL1 (7 CH: 1)
52	yaa wa-lalla s-salaam ɛaleyk	Oh, Lalla, greetings to you,	ughniya	LL1 (7: 1, 2)
53	yaa wa-lalla laa tfaakkernii	Oh, Lalla, do not think about me	ughniya	LL1 (7: 3)
54	yaa lalla wa-rḍii ɛaleyya	Oh, Lalla, bless me	ughniya	LL1 (7: 5)
55	wa-yaa waḥšik saal ɛaleyya	Your longing flew on me [with tears],	ughniya	LL1 (7: 6)
56	wa-yaa ɛaawniinii be-rḍaak	Help me with your blessing,	ughniya	LL1 (7: 7)
57	yaa wa-rḍaak ḥjaab ɛaleyya	Your blessing is a protection for me.	ughniya	LL1 (7: 8)
58	yaa lalla le-fraaq yeɛaddib	Oh, Lalla, this distance is tormenting	ughniya	LL1 (7: 9)
59	yaa wa-lilla gheyr ismaɛnii	For God's sake, only listen to me	ughniya	LL1 (7: 13)
60	yaa le-mḥabba beynii wa-beyniik	Love is between me and you,	ughniya	LL1 (7: 15)
61	yaa fe klaami ṭaawe'nii	[just] Listen to my words!	ughniya	LL1 (7: 16)
62	yaa wa-daaru l-ɛassa be l-liil	Oh, they set a guard at night	ughniya	LL1 (8: 1)
63	yaa lli yašuufni yaquul ɛabiiṭ	Those, who see me, tell me I am stupid	ughniya	LL1 (8: 17)
64	yaa ṭuyuur el-ghaaba	Oh, forest birds!	ughniya	AA (19 CH: 1)
65	yaa l-maaši l Uruupa	Who is leaving for Europe!	ughniya	AA (20 CH: 2)
66	yaa l-xeddaam f l-gharsa	Who is engaged in agricultural works,	ughniya	AA (20: 2)
67	aa xaay ḥetta temma l-bṭaala	Since, my brother, even there they have unemployment	ughniya	AA(20: 4)
68	yaa l-xeddaam f l-karyaan	Who is engaged in quarry works	ughniya	AA (20: 5)
69	yaa l-xeddaam f d-daalya	Who is engaged in vineyard works!	ughniya	AA (20: 8)

No	Arabic	English	Genre	Occurrence
70	aa ɛibaad alla	Ah servants of God!	ayta	AA (22: 1, 6, 11, 16)

SUMMARY

Formulaicity in Jbala poetry

This research adds to the 'traditional' Oral-Formulaic studies initiated by Milman Parry (1928) and Albert Lord (1960) on the basis of Homeric epics by analyzing a corpus of Jbala songs from northern Morocco. It attempts to clarify whether literacy has an effect on the usage of formulaic language and what other factors condition a singer's choice whether and to what degree to use formulas in his or her verses. At the same time, the study gives a modern 'twist' to the traditional formulaic studies by attempting to explore the presumably common features of formulas in the traditional 'oral formulaic theory' and in the research on 'lexical chunks', i.e., formulas in every day speech, recently initiated in cognitive linguistics. Relevant is first of all Alison Wray's work (2005, 2008, 2012), as well as the research on 'lexical items', i.e., formulas found in specific discourse genres, described by Koenraad Kuiper (1996, 2000, 2009).

Operationalizing the concept of literacy, the research pays close attention to the history of literacy studies, especially the theories of Great Divide and New Literacies. It also sheds light on the problem of literacy evaluation in multilingual countries, in particular in the Arab world.

The research is conducted on the basis of a corpus of Jbala songs partially collected by the author and interviews held with four local singers. The corpus consists of two sub-corpora: the Core Corpus with the lyrics of songs by the four interviewed contemporary Jbala singers that served as a basis for the research, and the Secondary Corpus, which consists of the song texts by other Jbala singers dating from the fifties and sixties of the 20th century as well as texts of Jbala songs recorded and published by French researchers in the beginning of the 20th century.

To contextualize the Jbala folklore, the research does not only explain the complicated language situation in Morocco but also introduces to the reader the musical genres popular in this country. Following the idea that a vocal song should not be treated only as a piece of poetry but should rather be analyzed within its context, the author then describes the relevant Jbala genres,

their musical and poetic structure, and the way they are performed in natural settings, on stage or in a recording studio. Finally, the study emphasizes the importance of the interplay between traditionalism and creativity that shapes an artistic genre.

Based on the formulaic analysis of the song texts and the analysis of the interviews, the study concludes that there is no direct connection between the singers' literacy levels and reduced or increased use of formulaic language in their songs. It also supports the idea that there is no 'good' or 'bad' literacy as applied to writing in a non-Standard variety, in this case Moroccan Arabic, which does not have an officially established grammar.

The study concludes that instead of the literacy/illiteracy factor, the condition that often seems to influence a singer's decision whether or not to use formulaic language is the canon of the genre within which the singer is creating a text or a melody. Should the poet desire to be more traditional, he or she will opt for already existing phrases and sentences that are easily recognizable for the audience. This is very important for a singer or musician whose well-being entirely depends on popularity. Consequently, it is suggested that there are two factors that determine a singer's choice in favor of or against the use of formulas and, hence, the choice whether to be tradetional or creative. These factors are (1) the degree to which there is a need or a desire to sound *jebli* and (2) the degree to which it is necessity to satisfy the aesthetic needs of the audience.

Apart from the above, this study also builds on Lord's concept of formulaic language and shows it to be a technical tool that helps singers to produce a poetical text.

The study contributes to a better understanding of the concept of formulaic language and supports the idea that in performed genres formulaic language should be seen as part of a larger repertoire containing both verbal and musical formulas.

That said, an extension of the poetic approach is provided by looking at the interaction between music and text. This was inspired by the concept of a musical formula first introduced by Foster (2004). Unlike the jazz improvisations studied by Foster, however, the Jbala tradition is a vocal genre and, generally, implies both singing and playing musical instruments. The suggestion is that the Jbala singers have considerable freedom of choice: not only can they choose whether or not to use formulaic language, but they can also choose between two varieties of formulas: verbal and musical.

The study shows it is difficult to evaluate literacy practices in the Arabic-speaking countries and calls for the development of a new classification of the Arabic language and its variants and to rethink ideas that are widely accepted in the scholarly world about 'high' and 'low' varieties of the Arabic

language. Also, in order to better understand what triggers the usage of formulaic language it calls for initiating interdisciplinary research that will unite, among others, experts in poetics, cognitive linguistics, neurology, ethnography, anthropology and musicology.

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